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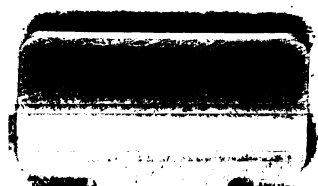
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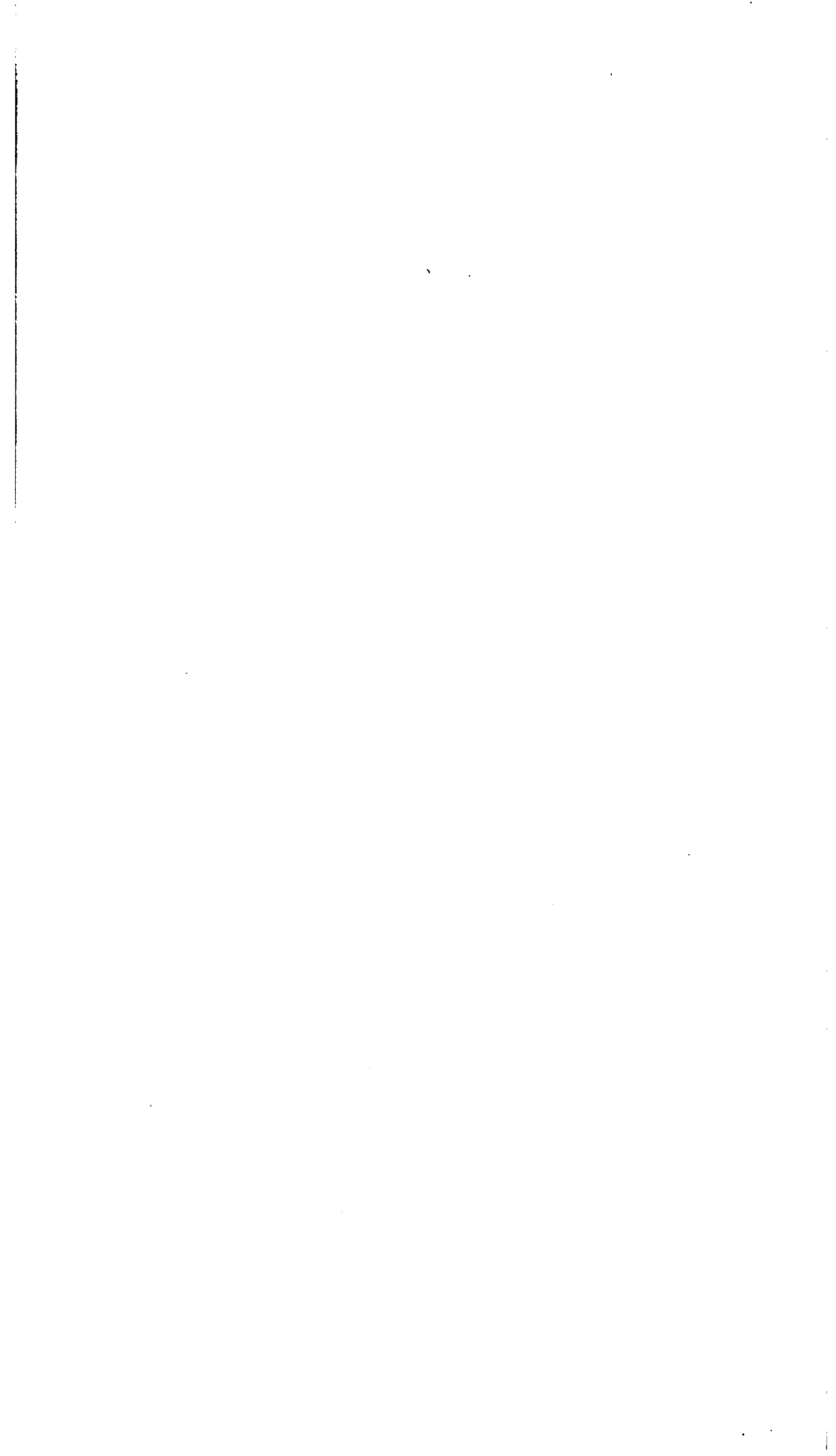
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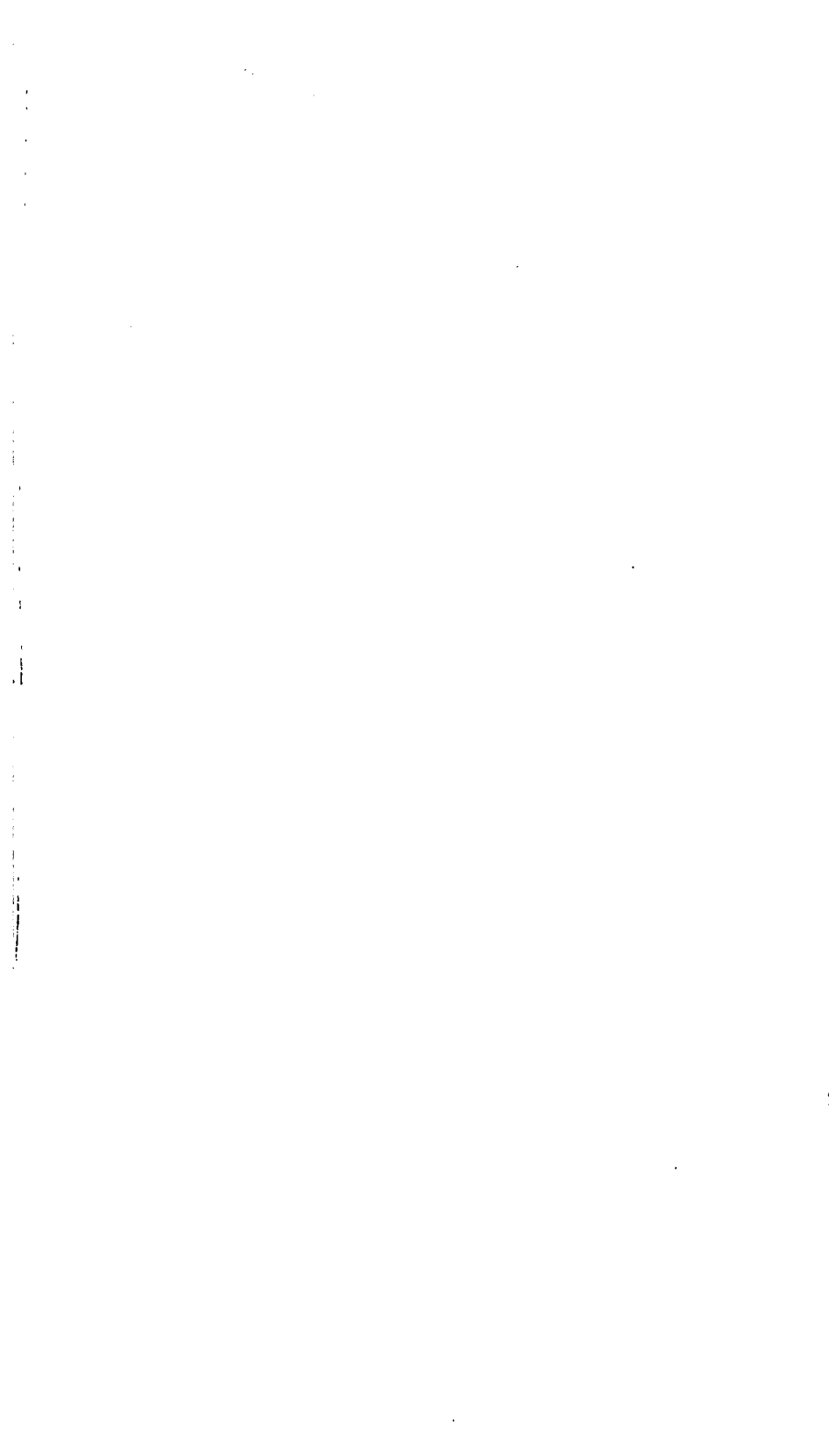
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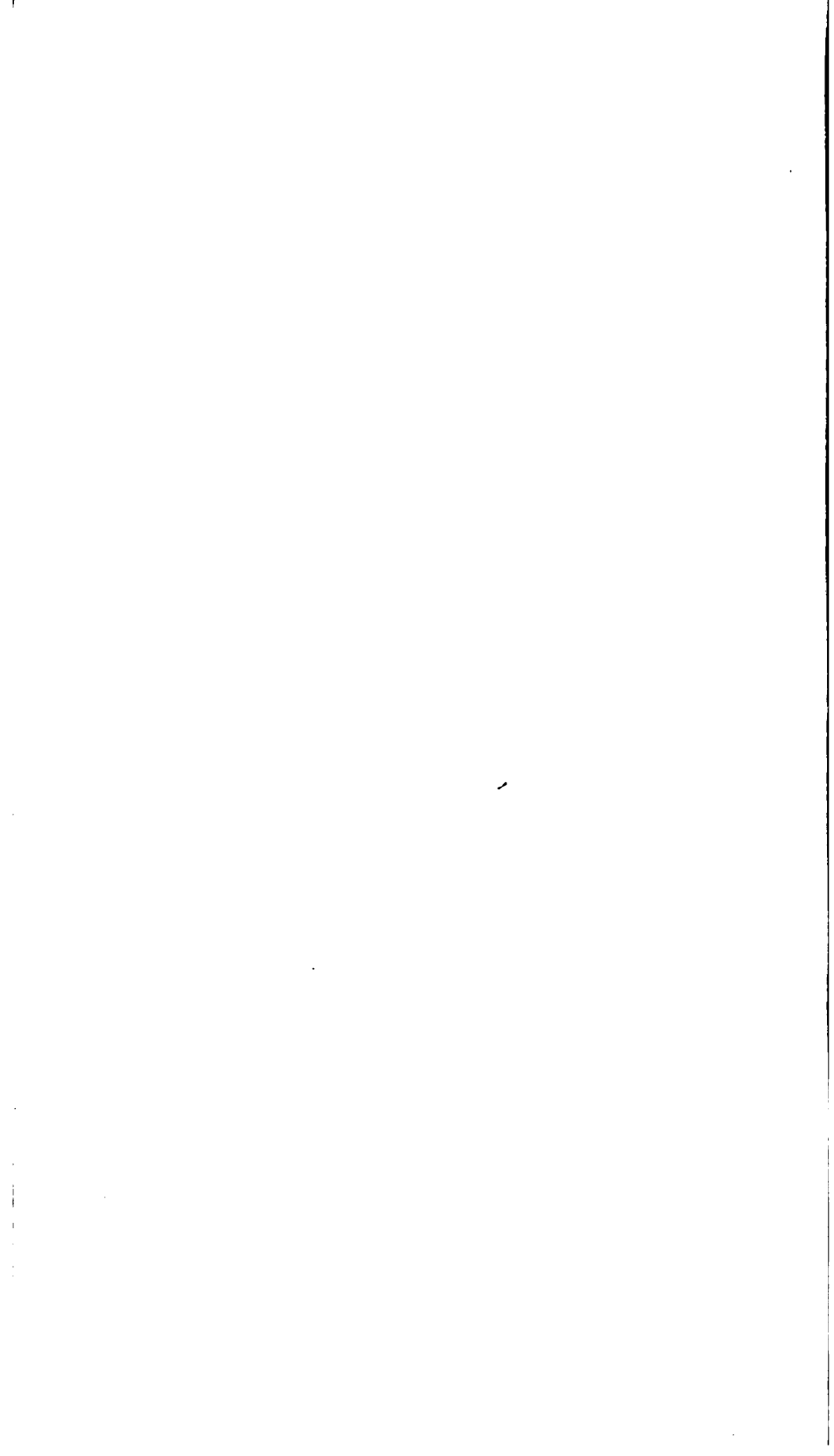


QB 62 722









Sallustius Catilinae

THE
CATILINE
AND
JUGURTHINE WARS
OF
SALLUST:

TOGETHER WITH
THE FOUR ORATIONS
OF
CICERO AGAINST CATILINE.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,

BY A GRADUATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

OXFORD:

HENRY SLATTER, HIGH-STREET.

LONGMAN & CO.; WHITTAKER & CO.; SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, & CO.; LONDON.

MDCCCXLI.

PA 66.54

E.5

1841

IN MEMORIAM

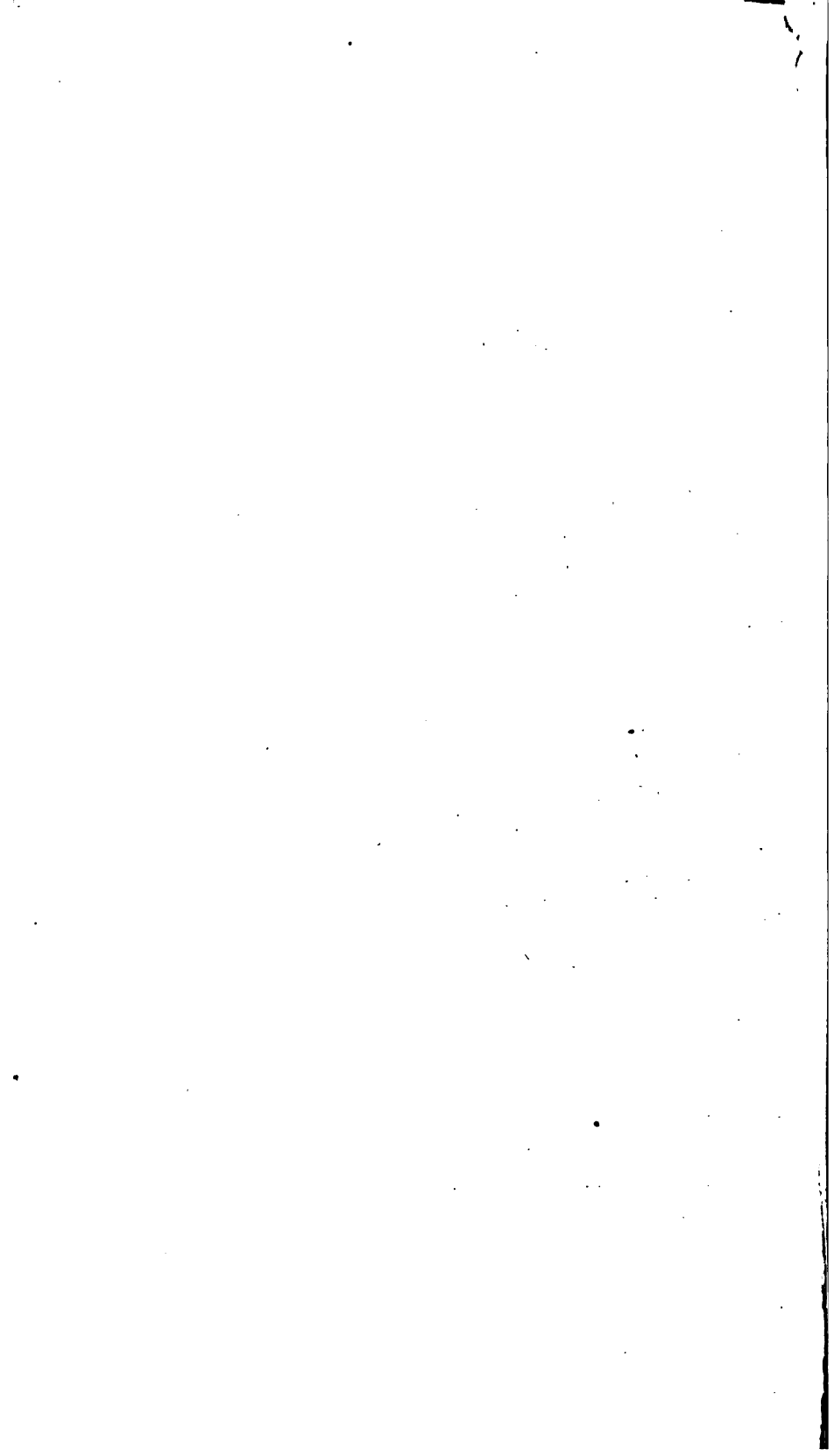
Henry U. Brandenstein

OXFORD:

PRINTED BY J. MUNDAY, JUN., HERALD OFFICE, QUEEN-STREET.

P R E F A C E.

THROUGHOUT the whole of this new Translation it has been the object of the Translator to produce a version in every respect such as a Candidate for his Degree would desire to shew up to the Examiners. Having this end in view, he has been much less solicitous respecting the language in which his Authors are clothed than he would have been, had his object been to make a free and smooth Translation. Should the reader therefore meet with any passages which may seem to be rather roughly or inelegantly rendered, he will be pleased to overlook this defect, and consider instead the faithfulness of the present version, which it will perhaps be not too much to say is as literal a Translation of a Classic as was ever offered to the Undergraduate.



THE
CATILINE CONSPIRACY
OF SALLUST.

It becomes all men, who are anxious that they should excel other animals, to strive with their utmost might that they may not pass their life in silence like cattle, which nature has formed with their faces downwards, and slaves to their belly. [But all our vigour is placed in the mind and in the body. We for the most part make use of the government of the mind, the submission of the body.

The one we have in common with the gods, and the other with brutes. Wherefore it appears to me more proper to seek for glory by the abilities of the mind rather than by those of mere force; and since that life which we enjoy is short, to make the memory of ourselves as lasting as possible. For the glory of riches and beauty is fickle and frail; virtue is accounted bright and everlasting.] But there has been for a long time a great debate amongst mortals, whether the science of war advanced more by the strength of body or by the abilities of the mind. For both before you begin there is need of counsel; and when you have counselled, there is need of vigorous execution. So whilst both by themselves are defective, the one is strengthened by the assistance of the other.

2. Wherefore in the early ages of the world, kings (for this was the first name of government upon the earth) were different—some cultivated their minds, others

their body. At that time too, the life of men was spent without covetousness, to every man his own property was sufficient. But after that Cyrus in Asia, in Greece the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, began to take cities and subdue nations—to look upon the lust of dominion as a ground for war—and to reckon the greatest glory to consist in the greatest dominion ; then at length it was found out by danger and trouble, that ability availed most greatly in war. But if the ability of the mind of kings and commanders were as powerful in peace as in war, human affairs would keep themselves in a more calm and settled state. Nor would you see different things carried about in different directions, nor all things changed and confused. For dominion is secured by the same acts by which it was at first acquired. But when instead of labour, sloth, instead of moderation and equity, lust and pride rush in, men's fortune is changed with their morals. Thus power is ever shifting from the worse to the better man : and the advantages of ploughing, sailing, and building, all obey virtue. But many men abandoned to their belly and sleep, untaught and uneducated, have spent their days like strangers, whose body in truth, contrary to nature, has been their happiness, their soul a burden. The life and ~~body~~^{soul} of such as these I reckon much the same, since no notice is taken of either. But he indeed appears to me to be truly alive, and to enjoy life, who being engaged in some useful employment, seeks the renown of some noble action or praiseworthy act. But in this great plenty of pursuits, nature has pointed out to different men different courses.

3. It is a glorious thing to be serviceable to the state, and even eloquence is no despicable thing. Either in peace or war it is possible that a man may become famous. Many of those who have performed noble actions, as well

as those who have written the history of others, are applauded.

* And to me indeed, although by no means equal glory attends the historian and the hero, yet it appears in the first place difficult to describe great exploits ; first indeed, because the deeds are to be equalled by the words : next, because many think that those faults which you may have blamed have been mentioned through ill nature and envy. When you are speaking of the great valour and glory of the good, whatever things each man thinks are easy to be done by himself, he hears with patience, but all beyond he esteems as false, just as if they were feigned. But I, when a young man, in my early days, like very many, was inclined with much zeal to the service of the state, and there many obstacles met me. For instead of modesty, instead of temperance, instead of virtue—boldness, bribery, and avarice were flourishing ; which things although my mind despised, being unused to such bad practices, yet amidst so great vices, my tender age was held fast corrupted by ambition. Me too, although I stood aloof from other bad customs, the same desire nevertheless of honour harassed, as it did others, with ambition and envy.

4. Therefore when my mind after many miseries and dangers rested, and I determined that the rest of my life should be spent by me far away from the state, it was not my intention to waste my valuable leisure in sloth and idleness, nor indeed in cultivating my land or hunting, to spend my life engaged with servile offices ; but having returned to the same point, I mean that undertaking and zeal from which a faulty ambition had diverted me, I determined to write in full the exploits of the Roman people concisely, just as each thing appeared worthy of memory ; and so much the rather, because my mind was free from hope, fear, and the factions of the state. There-

fore I will in a few words give an account of Catiline's conspiracy, with as much truth as I shall be able. For I look upon that design as especially memorable, from the strangeness of the crime and the danger ; of the morals however of this man a few things must be explained before I begin my narrative.

5. Lucius Catiline descended of a noble race was of great vigour both of mind and body, but of a wicked and perverse disposition. ~~To~~ him from his youth, civil wars, slaughter, rapine, civil discord, were delightful, and therein he spent his youth. His body was enduring of hunger, cold, and watching, more than is credible to any one. His mind was audacious, crafty, fickle—the pretender to, and dissembler of, any thing whatever, greedy of what was not his own, lavish of what was, burning in his lusts, eloquence enough he had, but little wisdom. His wild soul was always desiring things extravagant, incredible, and too high for him. After the tyranny of L. Sulla, a desire had wonderfully seized him of seizing the state ; nor by what means he attained this, provided he could obtain the tyranny to himself, had he any care. His savage soul was agitated more and more every day by the want of fortune, and the sense of his guilt, both which he had increased by those practices which I have mentioned above. The corrupt morals of the state, moreover, encouraged him ; which morals, evils most bad and different one to another—luxury and avarice—were distracting. The subject itself seems to exhort me, since this part of my history has put me in mind of the morals of the state, to go back, and to detail in a few words the institutions of our ancestors at home and in war ; how they managed the republic, and how great they left it ; and how being changed by degrees, from being the most glorious and the best, it became the worst and most flagitious.

6. The city Rome, as I have understood, the Trojans at first founded and inhabited ; who, under the guidance of Aeneas, flying from their country, wandered about in uncertain settlements ; and with them were the Aborigines, a wild race of men, without laws and government, free and unrestrained. When however they collected into one city, although of different race and dissimilar language, and each living in a different manner, it is incredible to be told how easily they became one people. But after their state being improved in number of people, manners and territory, appeared sufficiently prosperous and sufficiently powerful, as most mortal things are treated, envy arose out of their prosperity. Therefore kings of the neighbouring nations began to harass them in war, while a few of their friends were allies. For the rest, struck with fear, stood aloof from their dangers ; but the Romans, busy at home and in war, used all expedition, made preparations, each exhorted his neighbour, marched out to meet the enemy, and protected their liberty, their country, and their parents by their arms. Afterwards, when they had repelled the dangers by their valour, they carried aid to their allies and friends, and rather by giving than by receiving kindnesses they gained friendships. They had a lawful government, and the name of their government was "Royal." Chosen men, whose body, through years, was infirm, but whose mind was strong in wisdom, consulted for the state. These, either through their age or the similarity of their charge, were called "Fathers." But when kingly government, which at first proved a means of preserving their liberty, and advancing the public interest, degenerated into haughtiness and tyranny, the custom being changed, they chose for themselves, as annual officers, two magistrates. By this means they thought that the human mind would least of all become overbearing.

7. But at that time every one began more and more to exert himself, and to have his ability in readiness. For by kings good men are more suspected than the bad, and to them the virtue of others is always formidable. But it is incredible to be told how much in a short time the state increased, its liberty being obtained ; so great a desire of glory had now come on. Now the youth, as soon as capable of bearing arms, learnt the art of war by labour with experience in the camp ; and rather in beautiful arms and war-horses, than in harlots and banquets, placed their pleasure. To such men as these therefore, labour was not unaccustomed ; no place was too rugged or difficult, no enemy in arms was formidable. Their valour had subdued every thing. But in glory there was the highest emulation amongst them. Every one was zealous to strike the enemy, to scale the wall, and to be beheld while he was performing such an exploit. These they esteemed riches—this noble glory and real nobility. They were greedy of praise, lavish of their money. They longed for boundless glory, moderate riches. I could relate in what places the Roman people with a small band defeated the greatest forces of the enemy, and what cities fortified by nature they took by fighting, did not such a relation draw me off too far from my purpose.

8. But in truth fortune rules in every thing. It celebrates or obscures every thing at its pleasure, rather than according to truth. The actions of the Athenians in my opinion were great and glorious enough, but however a little less than they are represented by fame. But because the great genius of writers flourished there, the exploits of the Athenians are celebrated for the greatest throughout the world. Therefore their valour who have done these things is accounted as great, as the finest genius could extol them by language. But the Roman people never

had that advantage, because each man who was the wisest was most engaged in the service of the state. No one cultivated the mind without the body. Each one who was the best, preferred to act than to speak, that his own good deeds should be praised by others, than himself to write those of others.

9. Good manners were therefore practised at home and abroad. Their unanimity was very great, their covetousness very small. Justice and equity flourished among them, not more by the laws than by nature. Their strifes, their discords, and their grudges they carried on with their enemies. Citizens contended with citizens concerning virtue. In the worship of the gods they were magnificent, at home frugal, and faithful to their friends. By these two arts, boldness in war, and by equity when peace had followed, they managed themselves and the republic. Of which things I have these as the greatest proofs, that in war punishment was more often inflicted on those who had fought against the enemy contrary to orders, and who when recalled had been too slow in retreating, than on those who had ventured to desert their standards, or when beaten to quit their posts. In peace however, by kindness rather than by fear, they managed the government, and when they had received an injury, they chose rather to forgive than to revenge it.

10. But when by labour and justice the state increased, great kings were conquered in war, fierce nations and mighty people were subdued by arms, Carthage the rival of the Roman empire, had utterly perished, all seas and lands were open, fortune began to be enraged, and confound every thing. They who had easily endured dangers, doubtful and difficult trials, to them ease and riches, desirable by the rest of mankind, became a burden and a calamity. Therefore at first the love of money, then that of

power increased. These things became as it were the foundation of all evils. For avarice overthrew faith, honesty, and all the other good acts ; and instead of them it taught men pride, cruelty, to neglect the gods, and to consider every thing venal./ Ambition forced many men to become false, to have one thing hidden in their hearts, another ready on their tongue, to value friendships and enmities, not according to reality, but interest, and rather to have a good appearance than a good disposition. These things at first began to increase by degrees, sometimes to be punished. Afterwards when the infection swept on like a pestilence, the state was changed, the government from the most just and best, became cruel and intolerable.

11. But at first ambition more than avarice influenced the minds of the Romans. Which vice however was the nearer to virtue. For glory, honour, command, the good and slothful equally wish for themselves. But the former strives by the right course ; to the latter because good qualities are wanting, he works by tricks and deceits. Avarice has a longing after money, which no wise man ever desired. This passion, as if it were imbued with deadly poisons, enervates the body and mind of man. It is always boundless, insatiable, is neither diminished by plenty nor want. But after Lucius Sulla, the republic being seized by force of laws, from a good beginning turned out ill—all men began to plunder and spoil—one man coveted a house, another lands, nor had the victors any modesty or moderation, but committed foul and cruel actions against the citizens. To this was added, that Lucius Sulla, contrary to the custom of the ancients, had treated luxuriously and too liberally the army which he had commanded in Asia, in order to make it faithful to himself. These pleasant and voluptuous countries had

easily in time of peace softened the fierce minds of the soldiery. There first of all, the army of the Roman people became accustomed to love, to drink, to admire statues, paintings, and carved vessels, to plunder them in public and private, to rob the temples, and pollute all things both sacred and profane. Therefore these soldiers, after they had gained the victory, left nothing to the conquered; for success tries the minds of wise men, much less could they, when their morals were corrupted, use their victory with moderation.

12. After that riches began to be an honour and glory, and command and power followed them, virtue began to languish, poverty to be accounted matter of reproach, and innocence to be considered as malignity. Therefore from riches, luxury and avarice with pride came in upon our youth. They ravaged and wasted every thing, their own property they valued at a trifle, that of other persons they coveted, and had not the least care for, or moderation in, shame, modesty, sacred or profane things, which were all the same to them. It is worth while, when you shall have taken a view of their houses and villas built up after the manner of cities, to visit the temples of the gods, which our fathers, the most religious of men, built; but they used to adorn the shrines of their gods with their piety, their own houses with glory, nor took anything from the conquered except the liberty of doing mischief; but the others, on the contrary, the most cowardly of men, by means of the greatest wickedness, took away from our allies all those things which the bravest men, when victors, had left to the enemies, just as if the doing of injury was forsooth the use of power.

13. For why should I relate those things which are credible to no one except to those who have seen them—that mountains have been levelled, seas built over by many

private persons, whose riches appear to me to have been a jest, since those which they might have used honourably, they hastened to abuse disgracefully? But no less a desire of wantoning, gluttony, and other fashion had come on, women exhibited their shame in the open air, for the sake of feasting they ransacked every place by sea and land, and slept before there was any desire of sleep, they waited not for hunger nor thirst, nor cold nor fatigue, but anticipated all these things through their luxury. These things inflamed the youth, when their property had failed, to crimes: the mind when stained by evil practices was not easily free from lusts, and so was the more entirely given up in every way to getting and spending.

14. In so great and so wicked a city, ~~Catiline~~—a thing which was most easy to be done—had crowds of all the most wicked and abandoned men like so many body guards about his person; for every libertine, adulterer, glutton, who had ruined his patrimony by the dice, by his hand, his gluttony, or his debauchery, and he who had contracted large debts in order that he might atone for his wickedness and crime; all parricides moreover, from every quarter, and sacrilegious persons, either convicted in the courts, or fearing condemnation for their crimes; to this, those whom their hand and tongue nourished by perjury and the blood of citizens; and lastly, all whom wickedness, want, or a guilty conscience distracted, these were Catiline's nearest and intimate friends. But if even any innocent person had fallen into friendship with him, by daily intercourse and wheedling he was easily made a match for, and equal to, the rest; but most of all, he sought the friendship of young men. Their minds soft and pliable by reason of their age were easily caught by his stratagems; for as the taste of each, according to his age, was inflamed, to some he furnished harlots, for others he bought horses

and dogs : finally, he spared neither expense nor his own shame, provided he could make them his dependants and faithful to him. I know that there were some who were of this opinion, that the youth which used to frequent Catiline's house were not at all nice as regards their chastity ; but this report prevailed rather from other circumstances than because it had been proved by any person.

15. Catiline himself had, when a young man, already been engaged in several shameless intrigues with a noble virgin, and a priestess of Vesta, and other practices of the same kind, contrary to the law of man and God. At last being taken with love for Aurelia Orestilla, no quality of whom except her beauty a good man ever praised, because she hesitated to marry him, fearing his son who was grown up, it is believed for a certainty that, having murdered his son, he made his house at liberty for the wicked nuptials, which thing indeed appears to me to have been especially the cause of his hastening his crime ; for his impure soul, hostile to God and man, could neither be rested either by waking or sleeping, so did his conscience disturb his troubled mind : therefore his colour was pale, his eyes ghastly, his walk sometimes quick sometimes slow—in a word, madness was in his appearance and countenance.

16. But the youth, which as we said before he had seduced, he taught many crimes by various ways ; from among them he used to furnish witnesses and false signers, and instructed them to consider their honour, their fortunes, and their dangers, as of no moment. Afterwards, when he had worn down their credit and modesty, he used to order them to commit other greater crimes, and if for the present any opportunity for sinning did not easily present itself, they circumvented and murdered the innocent, just as if they were guilty, and lest forsooth from having

nothing to do their hands or their mind should grow inactive, he was rather wantonly wicked and cruel. Catiline confiding in these friends and accomplices because at the same time there was much debt every where, and because most of Sylla's soldiers, having used their property too lavishly, being mindful of their spoils and their ancient victory, were longing for a civil war entered into design for destroying the republic. In Italy there was no army, ~~Cneius Pompey~~ Pompey was carrying on war in the most distant lands, he himself had great hope of obtaining the consulship, the senate was in no ways attentive, all things were safe and tranquil, but all these things were very favourable to Catiline.

17. Therefore about the kalends of January, Lucius ~~Cesar~~ and Caius Figulus being consuls, he first of all addressed his accomplices severally, exhorted some, others he tried, and showed them his own strength, the unprepared republic, the great rewards of the conspiracy. When those things which he wished had been sufficiently explored, he collects all those together to whom there was the greatest want and the most daring. Thither there assembled of the senatorian rank, Publius Lentulus Sura, Publius Autronius, Lucius Cassius Longinus, Caius Cethegus, Publius, and Servius, the sons of Sulla Servius, Lucius Vargunteius, Quintus Annius, Marcius Porcius ~~Læcca~~, Lucius Bestia, and Quintus Curius. Besides these, of equestrian rank, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, Lucius Stautilius, Publius Gabinius Capito, and Caius Cornelius. In addition, many from the colonies and borough towns at home, men of noble birth. There were, moreover, a many more noblemen, rather more secretly sharers in the plot, whom the hope of power rather than poverty or any other necessity excited. But most of the youth, especially that of the nobility, was favourable to Catiline's under-

takings. Those, to whom there was every facility to live either magnificently or luxuriously in peace, preferred uncertainty to certainty, and war to peace. There were also some at that time who believed that Marcus Licinius Crassus was not ignorant of that design; and because Cneius Pompey, an enemy to him, was leading a great army, he wished that the influence of any person whatever should increase in opposition to this man's power. At the same time he trusted, if the conspirators succeeded, that he would easily be the leader amongst them. But before this time also, a few men, amongst whom was Catiline, had conspired against the state, concerning which matter I will speak as truly as I shall be able.

18. In the consulship of Lucius Tullius and Marcus Lepidus, Publius Autronius and Publius Sulla, consuls elect having been prosecuted by the laws of bribery, had suffered punishment. Some little time after, Catiline, being convicted of extortion, was forbidden to stand for the consulship, because he could not express his intention within the time fixed by law. There was at the same time Cneius Piso, a noble youth, of the greatest boldness, poor, factious; whom his want and bad morals stimulated to disturb the republic. With him, Catiline and Autronius, the plan being communicated about the nones of December, prepared to slay Lucius Cotta and Lucius Torquatus, the consuls, on the kalends of January; while they themselves having seized the fasces, should send Piso with an army to obtain the two Spains. This plot being discovered, they again put off the plan for the murder to the nones of February. And then, not only for the consuls but for most of the senators, did they plan destruction. And had not Catiline been too hasty to give the signal to his friends before the senate house on that day, the most horrid deed would have been committed since the building of Rome. But as these

had not yet collected a sufficient number of armed conspirators, this thing prevented their plot.

19. Afterwards Piso was sent as quæstor instead of prætor into the nearer Spain by the interest of Crassus, because he knew him to be an enemy to Cneius Pompey. Nor indeed did the senate give him the province unwillingly, inasmuch as they wished a wicked man to be far removed from the state ; as also because many good men thought there was protection in him, and at that time the power of Cneius Pompey was formidable. But this Piso, while marching to the province, was slain by some Spanish horse whom he was commanding in his army. There are some who say that the barbarians could not endure his unjust, proud, and cruel commands. But others say that those horsemen, ancient and faithful clients of Cneius Pompey, attacked Piso with his consent. The Spaniards had never at any other time committed such a crime, but had before endured many cruel commands. We will leave this matter undecided, and of this former conspiracy enough has been said.

20. Catiline, when he saw those whom I have a little above named met together, although he had often treated much with them singly, yet believing it would be useful to address and exhort them collected together, retired into a secret part of his house, and there, all witnesses being far distant, delivered an harangue to this effect :—"If your virtue and honour were not sufficiently known to me, an opportunity would in vain have fallen out, and an excellent hope of dominion would in vain have been in your power ; nor would I through sloth or a vain mind prefer uncertain things to certain. But because at many and important times I have found you brave and faithful to me, my mind has therefore determined to commence a very great and noble undertaking ; at the same time because I am

well aware that those same things are good and evil to you and myself ; for to wish the same thing, and to shun the same thing, that in a word is certain friendship. But you have already before this at different times heard what I have agitated in my mind. But my mind is daily more inflamed, when I reflect what will be our condition of life unless we assert ourselves our claims to freedom. For since the state fell into the power and hands of a few powerful men, to them always belonged kings and tributary tetrarchs, to them people and nations paid tribute ; all we the rest, active and brave, noble and ignoble, were reckoned but a mob ; without interest, without authority, we were slaves to those to whom, were the state in its right health, we should be subjects of dread. Therefore all interest, power, honour, and riches are in their hands, or where they choose ; to us they have left dangers, disappointments, law suits, and poverty. How long, then, most brave men will ye endure these things ?

21. “Is it not better to die with valour than lose with disgrace a miserable and disgraceful life, when you are the laughing stock for another man’s pride ? But in truth—Oh the faith of gods and men !—victory is in our hands, our age is young, our mind strong ; on the other hand, through their age and riches, all things have grown old to them. We have only need of a beginning, all other things the affair itself will make plain. But in truth what person who has the mind of a man can bear that they should have such an excess of money, which they lavish in banking out the sea, and levelling mountains, but that to us there should be wanting even money enough for the necessities of life ? That they should join two houses together apiece or more, but that we should nowhere have a household hearth ? When they buy paintings, statues, carved works, pull down some places, build others, and lastly in every



way gather money, and oppress us, and yet they are unable even with the greatest luxury to spend their wealth. But we have at home—poverty, abroad—debt ; a poor estate but much worse hope. In a word, what have we left except a wretched existence? Awake then at length—behold that liberty, that liberty which ye have so often desired ; nay besides, riches, honour, and glory are placed before your eyes ; fortune has given all these as rewards to the conquerors. Let the affair itself, the time, danger, want, the magnificent spoils of war, exhort you more than my speech. Use me either as a commander or soldier, neither my mind nor my body shall be absent from you. These very things I hope as consul I shall accomplish together with you, unless by chance my mind deceives me, and you are ready rather to be slaves than to command.”

22. After the men heard these things, who had all evils in abundance, but neither property nor any good hope ; although it appeared to them great gain to disturb what was at rest, yet most of them demanded that he should set forth what was the state of the war, what advantages they were to seek by their arms, what strength or hope they had every where. Then Catiline promised them a cancelling of all past debts, a proscription of the rich offices, priesthoods, and all things else which war and the licence of conquerors produce. Moreover, he said, that Piso was in the nearer Spain, and Publius Silius Nucerinus in Mauritania with an army, both partners in his design ; that Caius Antonius sought the consulship, whom he hoped to have for his colleague, a man who was both his intimate friend and bound by all ties to him ; and that he himself when consul would with him make a beginning of action. To this, he chastised all good men with reproaches, and naming each one of his own party, one

he praised, another he put in mind of his poverty, another of his desire, most of them of their danger or shame, and many of Sulla's victory, to whom that had been for a booty. After that he sees the mind of all prepared, having exhorted them to take care of his election, he dismissed the assembly.

23. There were at that time some who said that Catiline, after having delivered this speech, when he had bound the partners of his guilt to an oath, handed round in goblets blood of a human body mixed with wine; then when, after a curse, all had tasted of it, as is the custom to be done at solemn sacrifices, he disclosed his plan, and said he had so done in order that they might be more faithful one among another, each being accomplice with the other in so great a design. But some thought that both these things and many others were made up by those who believed that the odium against Cicero, which afterwards arose, might be abated by the atrocity of their wickedness who had suffered punishment. In my opinion this charge, considering its importance, is not sufficiently proved.

24. But in this conspiracy was engaged Quintus Curius, descended from no mean house, overwhelmed with crimes and wickedness, whom the censors for the sake of disgrace had removed from the senate. In this man there was no less vanity than audacity; he neither had any care to conceal what he had heard, nor to conceal his own crimes, nor in short what he said or did. He had a long habit of intrigue with Fulvia, a noble lady, to whom when he became less agreeable because through his poverty he was less able to make her presents, beginning all on a sudden to boast, he promised her seas and mountains, and sometimes threatened her with the sword if she would not submit to him. Last of all he began to behave more fiercely than he was accustomed; but Fulvia, the cause of Curius'

insolence being found out, did not keep secret such a danger to the republic, but the name of her informer being suppressed, told to many persons what things she had heard, and how she had heard them, concerning Catiline's conspiracy. This thing especially inflamed the desires of men to commit the consulship to Marcus Tullius Cicero; for before this, most of the nobility used to boil with envy, and believed that the consulship was as it were polluted, if any person of low birth, however excellent he might be, had obtained it. But when danger arrived, envy and pride were secondary considerations.

25. Therefore the election being held, Marcus Tullius and Caius Antonius are declared consuls, which thing first gave a shock to the accomplices in the conspiracy. The madness however of Catiline was not abated, but every day he was engaged in more designs; he prepared arms in suitable places through Italy, and sent money borrowed on his own credit or that of his friends to Fæsulæ to a certain Manlius, who afterwards was the first beginner of making the war. He is said at that time to have brought over to himself many men of every kind, and some women also who had at first supported their great extravagance by prostitution, but who, when age had put an end to their gain, but not to their luxury, had contracted large debts. By means of them Catiline thought that he could engage the city slaves to fire the city, and either to draw over their husbands to join him or murder them.

p. 24 26. But amongst these was Sempronia who had often committed many actions of a man's spirit. This woman was sufficiently happy in her extraction and person, as also in her husband and children. In Greek and Latin literature she was skilled, could play upon an instrument and dance more elegantly than any honest woman need do, and in several other things which are instruments in luxury

she was well skilled. But every thing was dearer to her than decency and chastity. You could with difficulty decide whether she was less sparing of her money or her reputation. She was so inflamed with lust that she more frequently made advances to the men than they to her. She had often before this betrayed secrets, abjured what had been trusted to her, had been an accomplice in murder, and through her luxury and poverty had gone on headlong. But her talents were by no means despicable. She could make verses, start a jest, make use of language either modest, soft, or wanton. In a word, there was in her much wit and much facetiousness.

27. These preparations having been got together, Catiline nevertheless canvassed for the consulship for the next year, hoping that if he should be elected he could easily make use of Antony according to his pleasure. Nor in the meanwhile was he quiet, but in every way was preparing snares for ~~Cicero~~; nor were there wanting to him cunning and dexterity to beware of him; for from the commencement of his consulship, by promising many things through Fulvia, he had contrived that Quintus Curius, of whom I have just before spoken, should betray the counsels of Catiline to him. Besides this he had engaged his colleague Antony, by the promise of a province, not to entertain thoughts against the state, and secretly maintained around himself guards of friends and clients. When the day of the assembly came, and neither Catiline's suit nor the snares which he had made for the consul turned out well, he determined to make war and to try the utmost extremity, since those devices which he had recently tried had turned out crossly and unfavourably.

28. Accordingly he sent away Caius Manlius to Fæsulæ and to that part of Etruria, one Septimius Camerus into the territory of Picenum, and Caius Julius into Apulia, other

persons besides to other places, as he thought each might be most useful to his design. In the mean time he was planning many things at Rome at the same time, and was preparing snares for the consul, fires for the city, and filling proper places with armed men. He himself continually wore a sword, and recommended others to do the same, and exhorted them to be always ready and prepared for action. Day and night he was in a hurry, was always wakeful, and fatigued neither by his want of rest nor his labour. Last of all, when to him busy about many things nothing turned out well, he again in the dead of night summonsed the chiefs of the conspiracy through M. Porcius Læcca, and there having complained much of their inactivity, he informs them that he had sent Manlius before him to the force he had prepared to take up arms, as also other persons to other suitable places, who should make a beginning of the war, and that he himself was desirous to go to the army if he could first destroy Cicero, for he very much impeded his designs.

29. Therefore all the rest being frightened and hesitating, Caius Cornelius, a Roman knight, having promised his assistance, and with him Lucius Vargunteius, a senator, determined that very night in a few hours after to enter Cicero's house with armed men as if to salute him, and then on a sudden to stab him all unprepared in his own house. Curius, when he understands how much danger is hanging over the consul, with speed tells to Cicero, by means of Fulvia, the plot which was prepared; so they being denied admittance undertook to no purpose so great a crime. In the meanwhile Manlius was stirring up the common people in Etruria, ripe for an insurrection from their poverty, as well as their resentment of the injustice done them, because by the tyranny of Sulla they had lost their lands and all their goods, as well as robbers of

every kind, of whom there was great abundance in that country, some also of Sulla's colonists to whom lust and luxury had left nothing of their great booty.

30. When these things were told to *Cicero*, being moved by the double danger because he could neither any longer by his own private plans defend the city from the plots, nor had he any certain account how large was the army of *Manlius*, or with what intention it was levied, he refers the matter to the senate, which was already before this become the common talk of the town. Therefore, as is generally the custom on any critical occasion, the senate decreed "That the consuls should do their best that the republic should receive no injury." This is the greatest authority that is given by the senate to any magistrate by the custom of the state, namely to levy an army to carry on war, to restrain in all ways allies and citizens, and both at home and abroad to have the supreme power and authority. Otherwise, without the people's order, for none of these things has the consul any authority.

31. A few days after *L. Senius*, a senator, read a letter in the senate house, which he said was brought him from *Fæsulæ* by *Quintus Fabius*, in which it was written, that *Caius Manlius* had taken up arms with a large force, on the sixth of the kalends of November. At the same time, as is wont in such a case, others brought accounts of portents and prodigies, others that assemblies were held, arms carried about, and that at *Capua* and in *Apulia* a servile war was being excited. Therefore by a decree of the senate, *Quintus Marcius Rex* was sent to *Fæsulæ*, *Quintus Metellus Creticus* to *Apulia*, and the places thereabouts, both of whom were commanders close to the city, being prevented from having a triumph by the calumny of a few to whom it was the custom to sell every thing both honourable and dishonourable. But the prætors, *Quintus*

Pompeius Rufus, and Quintus Metellus Celer were sent to Capua, and to the territory of Picenum; and to them orders were given to levy an army according to the exigency of the time and the danger. Besides this, if any one should give information of the conspiracy which was made against the state, they offered a reward, to a slave his freedom and a hundred sestertia; to a free man pardon for the crime and two hundred sestertia; they likewise decreed, that the bands of gladiators should be distributed in Capua and the other borough towns according to the resources of each place; that at Rome guards should be kept through all the city, and that the inferior officers should preside over them.

32. By which things the state was moved, and the appearance of the city changed; from the greatest joy and luxury which a long quiet had produced, on a sudden sadness came over all; they were all in a bustle and trembling, and neither sufficiently trusted any man or any place, neither could they carry on war or keep peace. Every one measured the dangers by his own fear. Besides this, women, on whom by reason of the grandeur of the state a dread of war had come to which they were unaccustomed, began to bemoan themselves, extend their suppliant hands to heaven, bewailed their little children, made constant enquiries, were afraid of every thing, and their pride and luxury being put aside, distrusted themselves and their country. But the cruel mind of Catiline pursued the same things, although guards were prepared and he himself had been impeached upon the Plautian law by Lucius Paulus. At last, for the sake of dissembling, and as if for clearing himself just as if he had been through some quarrel attacked, he came into the senate house. Then Marcus Tullius, the consul, either fearing his presence, or thus fired with resentment, delivered a fine oration and useful

to the republic, which when it had been committed to writing he afterwards published.

But when he sat down, Catiline, as he was prepared to dissemble every thing, with a downcast face and suppliant voice, begged of the fathers not to believe hastily every thing concerning him ; that he was sprung from such a family, and had so led his life from his youth, that he had a right to expect every thing. He begged them not to think that there was any need of a ruined republic to him a patrician, who had himself as well as his ancestors done many services for the people of Rome, whilst Marcus Tullius, who was but a tenant of the city of Rome, stood up as its preserver. In addition to this, when he had added other reproaches, they all raised an outcry against him, and called him enemy and parricide. Then he in great anger exclaimed, " Since indeed I am surrounded and driven headlong by my enemies, I will extinguish my fires by their ruin."

33. Then he hurried home from the senate house. There, revolving many things in his own mind that neither his snares for the consul had been successful, and that he was aware that the city was secured from fire by watches, and believing that the best thing to be done was to increase his army, and before the legions should be enrolled, to seize beforehand many places which would be advantageous for the war, he set off at midnight with a few attendants for Manlius' camp. But he commands Cethegus and Lentulus, and others, whose boldness he knew was ever ready, by whatever means they could to strengthen the forces of their faction, and hasten snares for the consul, and prepare slaughter, fire, and other acts of war. That he himself would come immediately with a large army to the city.

34. Whilst these things are being carried on at Rome,

Caius Manlius sends some of his lieutenants to Quintus Marcius Rex with commands to this effect :—" We call gods and men to witness, general, that we have neither taken up arms against our country, nor in order that we should cause danger to others, but that our bodies should be safe from injury ; we who in misery, in want by the violence and cruelty of our creditors, are most of us stripped of our country, but all of us of our credit and our fortunes. Nor is it allowed any of us, after the manner of our ancestors, to have the benefit of the law, nor when we have lost our patrimony to have our persons free, so great has been the cruelty of our creditors and the prætor. Our ancestors have frequently, from pity for the common people of Rome, relieved its wants by their decrees. And very lately, in our own memory, in consequence of the greatness of debt, by the wish of every good man, brass was made to pass for silver, weight by weight. The common people themselves have often, either excited by a desire for power, or armed through the pride of magistrates, seceded from the fathers. But we neither seek power nor riches, for the sake of which things wars and contests arise among men, but liberty, which no brave man loses but with his life. Thee and the senate we call to witness, that you should consult for us wretched citizens, restore the safeguard of the law which the iniquity of the prætor has taken away, and not lay upon us the necessity to seek how we may die, having avenged our blood as much as possible."

35. To this Q. Marcius made answer, " If they wished to ask any thing from the senate, they should lay down their arms, and go as suppliants to Rome. That the senate and people of Rome had always been of so mild and merciful a disposition, that no one ever asked assistance from them in vain." But Catiline in his journey sends

letters to most of those of consular dignity, as well as to every most eminent person. That he, surrounded by false accusations, as he was unable to oppose the faction of his enemies, had yielded to fortune, and was gone into exile to Marseilles. Not that he was conscious to himself of so great a crime, but in order that the state might be undisturbed, and that no sedition might arise from his struggles. A letter very different from this Quintus Catulus read in the senate house, which he said was delivered to him in Catiline's name. A copy of it is given below.

36. "Lucius Catiline to Quintus Catulus, greeting. Your extraordinary honour, known to me by experience, and grateful to me, has given confidence to my recommending to you my cause in great dangers. Wherefore I have determined not to prepare a defence in these new measures, but have decided to express my satisfaction at no consciousness of any crime. Which on my honour you may know with me to be true. Provoked by injuries and insults, because being deprived of the fruit of my labour and industry, I did not obtain the degree of my dignity, I undertook the public cause of the wretched according to my custom. Not but that I could have been able to pay the debt incurred on my own account out of my own estate, when that incurred for others the liberality of Orestilla would have paid out of her own and her daughter's estate. But because I saw unworthy men exalted by honours, and myself I saw was set aside by a false suspicion, on this showing I have, considering my circumstances, pursued means honourable enough for the preservation of the remaining dignity left me. More when I was desirous to write, news was brought me that force is being prepared against me. Now I commend Orestilla to you, and entrust her to your honour. Defend her from danger, being conjured by thy children. Farewell."

37. But he himself having delayed a few days with Caius Flaminius in the territory of Reate, while he is furnishing with arms the neighbourhood before excited, marches with the fasces and the other ensigus of command to Manlius to the camp. When these things were known at Rome, the senate votes Catiline and Manlius enemies, and fixes a day for the rest of the troops, within which they might safely lay down their arms, except such as had been condemned for capital crimes. They decree moreover that the consuls should hold a levy, that Caius Antonius should hasten to follow Catiline with an army, and Cicero should be the protection of the city. The empire of the Roman people at that time seemed to me to be in far the most miserable condition, whose arms, when all things being subdued from the rising to the setting of the sun, obeyed, and when at home ease and riches, which men consider the chiefest things, were flowing in; there were nevertheless citizens who were obstinately bent on destroying themselves and the state. For notwithstanding the two decrees of the senate, out of so great a multitude neither did any one, induced by the reward, unfold the conspiracy, nor did any one of them all depart from Catiline's camp. So great a force of disease, and as it were an infection, had come upon the minds of most of the citizens.

38. Nor were their minds only alienated who had been concerned in the conspiracy, but the whole of the common people entirely, through desire for a revolution, approved of the designs of Catiline. This they thus appeared to do according to their custom. For always in a state, they who have no property envy the good, extol the bad, hate old things, long for what is new; through hatred of their own affairs they are anxious for all things to be changed, and without any care to themselves are nourished by dis-

turbance and sedition, since their poverty is easily borne without any loss to themselves. But the common people of the city for many causes went on headlong ; first of all they who were everywhere most distinguished for disgrace and wantonness, others also who had lost their patrimony by their crimes, and last of all, all those whom their wickedness or villany had forced from their homes ; these flocked to Rome as to a common sewer. Again, many mindful of Sulla's success, because they had seen some of the common soldiers made senators, and others so enriched that they passed their life in royal living and apparel, every one of them, I say, provided he were in arms, hoped for such things from his success. The youth moreover, who by the labour of their hands had borne up with poverty in the country, being excited by public and private bribery, preferred ease in the town to unpleasant labour. These and all others the republic's trouble nourished. Wherefore it is the less to be wondered, that needy men of bad morals but the greatest hopes, should act for the republic as they did for themselves. Moreover those men whose fathers had been proscribed by Sulla's success, and whose goods had been stolen and their rights curtailed, awaited the issue of the war with no other feelings. In addition to this, whoever were of a different party to the senate, chose that the republic should be thrown into confusion rather than they themselves should be less powerful ; and thus evil, after many years, returned to the state.

39. For after that, when Cneius Pompey and Marcus Crassus were consuls, the tribunitian power was restored, young men having obtained the highest dignity, and whose age and spirit were fierce, began by criminating the senate, to excite the common people, and then by bribing and promising, to influence them more, and so they became themselves illustrious and powerful. Against

them most of the nobility struggled with all their power under pretence of helping the senate for their own aggrandisement ; for to tell the truth in a few words, whoever at that time agitated the state under plausible pretences, some as if they were defending the rights of the people, and others in order that the power of the senate might be increased, these, I say, feigning the public good, contended each one for his own interest ; neither had they any modesty or bounds to their contention. Both parties made a cruel use of their victory.

40. But when Cneius Pompey was sent to the maritime and Mithridatic wars, the power of the common people was diminished, while that of the few increased. These held the offices, provinces, and all other things. They themselves passed their lives unhurt, flourishing, and without fear, and terrified the rest by prosecutions, in order that while in office they might more easily manage the common people. But as soon as any hope of a revolution was offered, the old struggle exalted their minds. And if Catiline had in the first battle come off conqueror, or with equal advantage, straightway a great slaughter and calamity would have overwhelmed the republic. Nor would it have been permitted to those who had gained the victory any longer to enjoy it, but whoever had the greatest power would have forced from them, worn out and half dead, empire and liberty.

There were however several, besides those in the conspiracy, who at first went over to Catiline. Amongst them was Aulus Fulvius, the son of a senator, whom, when he was brought back from his journey, his father ordered to be killed. At the same time *Lentulus* at Rome, either by himself or by others, was tampering with whomever he believed either through their morals or fortunes to be disposed for a revolution ; and not citizens only, but any kind

of men whatsoever, provided only they would be of any service in the war.

41. Therefore he employs a certain Publius Umbrenus to seek out the ambassadors of the Allobroges, and induce them, if he can, to take a share in the war; thinking that as they were both publicly and privately embarrassed by debt, and moreover as the race of the Gauls was naturally warlike, they could easily be drawn into such a design. Umbrenus, because he had traded in Gaul, was known to most of the chiefs of the states, and knew them. Therefore without delay, as soon as he saw the ambassadors in the forum, having enquired a few things about the condition of their state, and as if pitying its misfortune, he began to enquire what end they expected to such great evils? When he saw them complain of the avarice of the magistrates and accuse the senate, because there was no assistance in that body, and that they looked for death as a cure to their miseries. "But I," he said, "will show you a way if you are only men, by which ye may escape these so great evils." When he said these things, the Allobroges being raised to the greatest hope prayed Umbrenus to pity them. There was nothing so harsh or so difficult which they would not most gladly do, provided that they could free their state from debt. He leads them to the house of Decimus Brutus, because it was near the forum, and not averse to the plot through Sempronius. For Brutus was at that time absent from Rome. Moreover he sends for Gabinius, in order that there might be greater weight to his discourse. When he arrived he unfolds the conspiracy, names the accomplices, as well as many others of every rank who were not concerned with it, in order that the ambassadors might have the greater confidence. Then having promised them his assistance he sends them away home.

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42. But the Allobroges were a long time in doubt what counsel to take. On the one hand were their debts, their desire for war, and great advantage in their anticipated victory. But on the other, greater benefits to themselves, safe counsels, certain rewards instead of uncertain hope. As they revolved these things, at last the fortune of the republic prevailed. Therefore they discover the whole affair as they had heard it to Quintus Fabius Sanga, whose protection their state much used. Cicero, the plot being discovered to him by Sanga, advises the ambassadors to pretend a violent zeal for the conspiracy, get into the society of the rest, and make large promises, and do their best to detect them as clearly as possible.

43. About the same time, there was a commotion in Hither and Further Gaul, as also in the territory of Picenum, Bruttium, and Apulia. For they whom Catiline had before despatched, immediately, and as it were madly, set about every thing at once. By nightly assemblies, by the carriage of arms and weapons, by hastening and agitating every thing they had caused more fear than real danger.

Many out of their number, Quintus Metellus Celer, the prætor, authority being given him by advice of the senate, had cast into bonds, as also did Caius Muræna in Hither Gaul, who as lieutenant presided over that province.

44. But at Rome Lentulus, with the rest who were the ringleaders of the conspiracy, great forces as it appeared being prepared, determined that when Catiline had come with his army to the country of Fæsulæ, Lucius Bestia, the tribune of the people, an assembly being called, should complain of the actions of Cicero, and throw upon that most excellent consul the odium of a most unpleasant war, and that upon this signal, the night following, the rest of the conspiracy should every one follow up the proper part

assigned them. But these parts were said to be thus divided. That Statilius and Gabinius, with a large band, should fire twelve points of the city most favourable for their purpose all at once, by which confusion an easier access might be obtained to the consul and the rest against whom snares were prepared. Cethegus was to seize Cicero's gates, and violently attack him, and the rest were to do the same to others. But the sons of *noble families*, and of whom there was a very large number from amongst the nobility, were to slay their fathers, and at once, when all were panic struck by slaughter and fire, to sally out to Catiline. Whilst these things were prepared and determined, ~~Cethegus~~ was ever complaining of the sloth of his friends, that they by hesitating and putting off the day, lost great opportunities ; that there was need of action not of debate in such a danger. And that he, if a few would assist him, would, while the rest were sleeping, make an attack upon the senate house. He was naturally fierce, vehement, and ready with his hand, and thought that the greatest hope of success depended upon their activity.

45. But the Allobroges, according to the advice of Cicero, meet the rest by means of Gabinius ; and demand an oath from Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and also Cassius, which they may carry home when sealed to their fellow citizens ; otherwise they could not easily be brought to so great an undertaking. The rest suspecting nothing give it. Cassius promises that he himself would go thither in a short time, and a little before the messengers, sets out from the city ; Lentulus sends with them one Titus Volturcius of Crotona, that the Allobroges, before they reached home, having given and received faith, should confirm their alliance with Catiline. He himself gives to Volturcius a letter for Catiline, a copy of which is given below.

“ Who I am, you will learn from him whom I have sent

to you. Consider in how great a calamity you are, and remember that you are a man. Consider what your cause requires. Seek assistance from all, even from the lowest." In addition to this he gives a verbal command to ask, "With what view, as he was pronounced an enemy by the senate, he was refusing the assistance of the slaves? That in the city all things were ready which he had ordered; he himself ought no longer to delay to advance neither."

46. These things being thus done, and the night fixed on which they were to depart, Cicero being informed of every thing by means of the ambassadors, commands Lucius Valerius Flaccus, and Caius Pomtinus, the prætors, to apprehend by means of an ambush the party of the Allobroges on the Mulvian bridge. He explains the whole affair for which they were despatched. Every thing else they were to do as the occasion required. These soldiers, having placed guards without any bustle, as it was ordered them, secretly watch the bridge. Afterwards when the ambassadors, together with Volturcius, arrived at that place, a clamour arose on both sides at the same time. The Gauls, the plan being quickly understood, without delay deliver themselves to the prætors. Volturcius at first, having exhorted the rest defends himself with his sword from the multitude; then when he was deserted by the ambassadors, having first much besought Pomtinus for his life, because he was known to him, and then fearful and despairing of life, he delivered himself to the prætors as if they had been enemies.

47. Which things being done, all is immediately declared to the consul by messengers. But him great concern as well as joy seized at the same time. He was delighted as he reflected that by the discovery of the conspiracy the state was delivered from danger; but he was on the other hand uncertain, when so great citizens were

detected in the greatest villany, what he ought to do ; and he believed that to punish them would be odium to himself, and to let them off would be the ruin of the state. Therefore having made up his mind, he commands Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinus, and also Cœparius of Terracina, who was preparing to set out for Apulia to excite the slaves, to be summoned before him. The rest came without delay. Cœparius having gone from home a little before, when the discovery was known, fled from the city. The consul himself holding Lentulus by the hand, because he was prætor, leads him into the senate house, the rest he orders to come with their guards to the temple of Concord. Thither he summons the senate, and there being a large attendance of that rank, he introduces Volturcius with the ambassadors, and orders Flaccus the prætor to bring to the same place a desk together with the letters which he had received from the ambassadors.

48. Volturcius being questioned about his journey and the letters, and lastly what intention he had or whence it arose, at first pretended every thing but the truth, and dissembled about the conspiracy ; afterwards being bidden to speak on the faith of the state, he discovers all things as they had been carried on, and informs them that he himself a few days before had been drawn in as a partner by Gabinus and Cœparius ; that he knew nothing more than the ambassadors, he only used to hear from Gabinus that Publius Autronius, Servius Sulla, Lucius Vargunteius, and others besides were in that conspiracy. The Gauls confess the same things. But they convict Lentulus who was pretending ignorance over and above the letters, by the language which he was wont to use, namely, that by the ~~Sylline books~~ the command of Rome was fated to three Cornelii ; that ~~Cinna~~ and ~~Sulla~~ had already held it, and that he himself was the third to whom it was fated to

enjoy the city. Moreover that this was the twentieth year from the burning of the Capitol, which the haruspices had often from prodigies declared would be stained by a civil war. Therefore the letters having been read, when previously all had acknowledged their seals, the senate decrees that Lentulus having abdicated his office, and likewise the rest, should be kept in honourable custody. Accordingly ~~Lentulus~~ is delivered up to Publius Lentulus Spinther who was the ~~edile~~, Cethegus to Quintus Cornificius, Statilius to Caius Cæsar, Gabinius to Marcus Crassus, and Cœparius, for he had been fetched back a little before from his flight, to Cneius Terentius a senator.

49. In the meanwhile the common people, the conspiracy being detected, who at first through desire of novelty had too much favoured the war, their minds being changed, began to curse the designs of Catiline, and extol Cicero to the skies, and as if snatched from slavery were exhibiting all joy and gladness. For other acts of war they thought might turn out more for their advantage than injury, but cruel incendiarism would be boundless and most calamitous to them, as they were men, all of whose substance rested in their daily food and clothing. After this one Lucius Tarquinius was brought to the senate, who when going over to Catiline, they said was brought back from his journey. This man, when he said he could give information concerning the conspiracy if the public faith were given him, being commanded by the consul to speak out what he knew, informs the senate of almost the same things as Volturcius had done, concerning the snares that were prepared, the slaughter of the good, and the march of the enemies. Moreover that he had been sent by Marcus Crassus to tell Catiline not to let Lentulus and Cethegus and the others of the conspiracy who were detected terrify him, but that he should on that account the

rather hasten to come nearer the city, in order both to encourage the minds of the rest, and that they might the more easily be rescued from the danger. But when Tarquinius named Crassus, a nobleman of the greatest riches and highest influence, some considering the thing impossible, others, although they thought it true, yet because at such a crisis the great power of the man seemed rather to be appeased than provoked, and the greater number being privately dependant upon Crassus, all these I say cry out that the informer was false, and demand that the question be put. Therefore by the advice of Cicero, a crowded house decides, that Tarquinius's information seemed false, and that he ought to be kept in chains, nor any more have his liberty, except he should give information of that person by whose instigation he had forged that lie. There were at that time some who thought that that information had been hatched up by Publius Autronius, in order that he might the more easily by naming Crassus defend the rest, through his sharing in the danger, and by his power. Others said that Tarquin had been sent by Cicero, lest Crassus according to his custom having taken upon himself the defence of the bad might perplex the state. I afterwards heard Crassus himself declaring that so great an insult had been offered him by Cicero. But at the same time Quintus Catulus and Caius Piso neither by favour nor by entreaty could induce Cicero, that either by the Allobroges or any other informer should Caius Cæsar be falsely accused. For both of them had a grievous quarrel with him. Piso having been prosecuted by him in an action for damages, on account of the illegal punishment of a certain inhabitant beyond the Po. Catulus being inflamed by hatred against him ever since his standing for the priesthood, because in mature old age and having enjoyed the greatest honours he had retired

beaten by Cæsar who was quite a young man. The affair however seemed probable because in private by his signal liberality, and in public by his very large presents, he had incurred great debts. But as they are unable to bring ~~the consul~~ to such a piece of villany, they themselves by going about man by man and perverting those things which they said they had heard from Volturcius or the Allobroges, brought together much odium against him; to such a degree indeed, that some Roman knights, who for the sake of guard were under arms around the temple of Concord, either induced by the greatness of the danger or the generosity of their minds, in order that their zeal for the republic might be more conspicuous, threatened Cæsar as he came out of the senate with their swords.

50. Whilst these things are being carried on in the senate, and whilst rewards are being decreed to the ambassadors of the Allobroges and Titus Volturcius, their information being confirmed, some freed men and a few of the clients of Lentulus, by different ways, were exciting the workmen and slaves to rescue him. And in part they were seeking for the leaders of the populace, who for pay were accustomed to agitate the republic. But Cethegus by messengers prayed his slaves and freed men who were picked men and well trained for bold actions, to make a band and break into him with their arms. The consul when he knew that these things were prepared, having distributed guards as the matter and the time admonished him, and having summoned the senate, puts it to them what was then well to be done with regard to those who were committed to custody? But a little before a crowded senate had decided that they had acted against the republic. Then Decius Junius Brutus, being first asked his opinion, because he was then ~~consul~~ elect, concerning those who were kept in custody, and moreover concerning Lucius

Cassius, Publius Furius, Publius Umbrenus, and Quintus Annius, should they be apprehended, voted that punishment should be taken upon them. And he being afterwards much influenced by the speech of Caius Cæsar said that he would vote for the resolution of Tiberius Nero, because he gave it as his opinion that when guards were added, the debate on that question should proceed. But Cæsar, when they came to him, being asked for his opinion by the consul spoke to this effect :—

51. “ It becomes all men, O conscript fathers, who consult on doubtful affairs to be free from hatred, friendship, anger, and pity. The mind does not easily foresee the truth when these things stand in the way. Nor has any man living obeyed his passion and his interest together. When you have strung your mind then it is powerful. If passion possesses the mind, it rules, the mind has no power. I could bring a long list, O conscript fathers, of kings and nations who being excited by anger or pity have consulted badly. But I prefer to recount those things which our ancestors contrary to the passion of their minds have done rightly and orderly. In the Macedonian war which we waged with king Perses, the state of the Rhodians, great and magnificent, which had increased by the support of the Roman people, proved treacherous and hostile to us. But when the war being concluded, consultation was held concerning the Rhodians, our ancestors for fear any one should say that the war was undertaken rather for the sake of their riches than their insolence, let them off unpunished.

“ Also in all the Carthaginian wars, when that people had constantly both in peace and during truces committed many wicked actions, our ancestors never did the same even though they might ; and sought rather what was worthy of themselves than what might have been fairly

practised against them. This also is to be provided by us, O conscript fathers, that the crime of Publius Len-
tulus and the rest may not have more weight with you than your dignity, and that you may not consult your anger more than your good name. For if a punishment equal to their crime can be found, I approve of this strange advice. But if the magnitude of the crime surpasses the invention of all, I think we must use those punishments which are provided by the laws. Most of those who have given their opinions before me, have elegantly and nobly bewailed the calamity of the state, and have enumerated what the cruelties of war are, and the things which happen to the conquered—that the virgins and boys are ravished, children torn from the embraces of their mothers, all which things are allowed the conquerors; the temples and houses are spoiled, slaughter and burning take place, and lastly all things are filled with blood and grief. But by the immortal gods, to what did that speech tend? Words forsooth will inflame him whom so great and so dreadful a crime did not move. It is not so. And to no man do his own injuries appear little. Many esteem them more than they ought. But different persons have different liberty, O conscript fathers. They who of humble birth pass their life in obscurity, if they commit any error through passion but few know it, their fame and their fortune are equal. They who possessed of great power pass their life in public, all men know their deeds. Thus in the greatest fortune there is the least licence allowed. Neither is party feeling nor hatred, and least of all anger becoming. That which with others is called anger, is in a high station called pride and cruelty. I for my part indeed am of this opinion, that all tortures are less than their crimes. But most men remember what is most recent, and in the case of villains, forgetting their crime,

they talk only of their punishment, if that has been a little too severe. I know for certain, that Decius Silanus, a brave and zealous man, has spoken what he has from zeal for the state, and that he in a matter of so much importance neither feels favour or ill will. Such I know to be the disposition and such the moderation of the man. But his opinion appears to me not cruel indeed (for what can be cruel against such men?) but not agreeable to our state. For certainly either your fear or their injustice has induced you, Silanus, consul elect, to vote for a new kind of punishment. As to your fear it is superfluous to speak, especially since by the diligence of that most illustrious man, the consul, there are so many guards under arms. And as to the punishment, we may say indeed what is the truth; that in a state of mourning and misery, death is a deliverance from troubles, not a punishment; that puts an end to all human evils, beyond it there is room for neither sorrow nor joy. But by the immortal gods, why did you not add this to your opinion, that they should first be punished with stripes? Was it because the Porcian law forbids it? But other laws also command, not that life should be taken away from condemned citizens, but that exile should be allowed them. Is it because it is more grievous to be scourged than put to death? But what can be too bitter or severe against men convicted of so great a crime? But if it was because scourging is a lesser punishment, how comes it that you regard the law in a matter of less moment, when you have neglected it in a greater? But indeed who will find fault with what shall be determined upon against the unnatural murderers of the state? Time, the day, and fortune, whose good pleasure rules the nations. Whatever shall turn out will happen to them deservedly. But do you, conscript fathers, consider well what you resolve upon against others. All

bad examples had their rise from good beginnings. But when power comes into the hands of ignorant or indifferent men, the new precedent is transferred from worthy and proper to unworthy and improper men.

“The Lacedæmonians, when they had conquered the Athenians, set over them thirty men to manage the state. These at first began to kill uncondemned every worst man, and whoever was hated by all. With this the people were delighted, and said it was done rightly. Afterwards, when their licence by degrees grew, they began to put to death just as they pleased the good and bad promiscuously, and struck the rest with fear. Thus the state being overwhelmed by slavery, suffered a dreadful punishment for their silly rejoicing.

“In our memory when the conqueror Sulla commanded Damasippus and others of that stamp, who had raised themselves by the ruin of their country, to be put to death, who did not praise his conduct? They said that wicked and factious men who had excited the republic by their seditions were deservedly put to death. But that circumstance was the beginning of great slaughter. For just as any man desired a man's house or villa, and at last any piece of plate or garment, he did his best that he might be in the number of the proscribed. Thus they, to whom Damasippus' death was a cause of joy, were soon after themselves hurried away to death; nor was there any end of this butchery, until Sulla glutted all his followers with riches. And yet I apprehend nothing like this in Marcus Tullius nor at this time. But in a mighty state there are many and various dispositions. At another time and by another consul, in whose hands there may be also an army, something false may be believed as true. And when upon this precedent, by a decree of the senate, the consul shall have drawn his sword, who shall fix bounds

to him or who shall overrule him? Our ancestors, O conscript fathers, never wanted either counsel or courage. Nor did pride prevent them from copying the customs of others, provided they were valuable. Arms and military weapons they borrowed from the Samnites, and most of the ornaments of their magistrates from the Tuscans. In fine, whatever in any place either amongst their allies or their enemies appeared useful, that they followed up at home with the greatest zeal. They chose rather to imitate than to envy the good. But at that same time, imitating the custom of Greece they used to punish their citizens with stripes, and punish capitally the condemned. But when the state grew up and factions prevailed in a numerous people, the innocent were circumvented, and other things of this kind began to be done; then the Porcian law and other laws were provided, by which exile was allowed to the condemned.

“ I then consider this as an especially substantial reason why we should not adopt any new plan. Forsooth there was greater virtue and wisdom in those who from so small resources produced so vast an empire, than in us who can scarcely keep what was well provided to our hands. Is it then my opinion that they should be discharged, and that the army of Catiline should be increased? By no means. But this is my opinion, that their property be confiscated, and they themselves kept in chains in the different boroughs, which are most powerful in their resources; and that no one should ever make a motion concerning them to the senate, nor intercede with the people. And if any one acts differently, that the senate decree, that such a person intends to act against the state and the safety of all.”

52. After Cæsar had made an end of speaking, the rest in various ways, some to one and some to another gave

assent to his speech. But Marcus Porcius Cato being asked his opinion delivered an oration to this effect.

“I am of quite a different opinion, O conscript fathers, when I consider our circumstances and danger, and when I revolve within myself the advice of some. They appear to me to have debated concerning the punishment of those who have prepared war against their country, their parents, their altars, and their own hearths. But the nature of the thing admonishes us rather to be on our guard against them, than to consult what we are to determine against them. For other crimes you may then punish when they are done, but unless you provide that this may not happen, when it does happen you will in vain ask the aid of justice. When the city is taken nothing is left to the conqueror. But by the immortal gods I call upon you who have always had more regard to your houses, villas, statues, and paintings than the republic, if these things, of whatever kind they are which ye are so fond of, you wish to retain, if you wish also to give time to your pleasures, awake at length and take in hand the republic. We are not now treating of the revenue of the state or the ill-usage of our allies ; our liberty and our life are at stake. Often, O conscript fathers, I have spoken many words in this assembly. I have often complained of the luxury and avarice of our citizens, and for that reason I have adversaries. I who never showed any favour to myself or my mind for any fault, could not easily forgive the crimes of another’s lust. But although you valued these things at but a little, yet your republic was secure ; our great opulence allowed some carelessness. Now however this is not at stake, whether we must live with good or bad morals, nor how great or how magnificent the empire of the Roman people may be ; but whether these things, of whatever kind they seem to be, are to be

ours, or together with ourselves in the power of the enemy.

“And does any one here talk to me of mildness and mercy? We have long since indeed lost the true names for things, because to give away other persons’ goods is called liberality; and boldness in wicked actions, fortitude; therefore the state is placed in the greatest extremity. Let them forsooth, since it is now the custom, be generous out of the fortunes of our allies; let them show pity to the plunderers of the treasury; let them not however present them with our blood, and whilst they spare a few villains go to destroy all good men. Well and elegantly has Caius Cæsar just spoken in this assembly concerning life and death; judging I believe those accounts to be false which are told about the infernal regions, that the bad are separated from the good, and inhabit nasty, inhospitable, filthy, and dismal places. Therefore he voted that their property should be confiscated, and they themselves kept throughout the boroughs in prison; for fear of course that if they were at Rome they might forcibly be rescued by their accomplices or a hired mob, just as if rascals and villains were only in the city, and not throughout the whole of Italy—or that audacity would not be more powerful there, where there were less means to oppose it. Wherefore this is indeed foolish advice if he fears danger from them; but if he is the only one who does not feel any apprehension in this great and general panic, it is therefore the more needful that I should have apprehensions for myself and for you.

“Wherefore when you shall decide concerning Lentulus and the rest, have this fact for certain, that ye are deciding at the same time concerning Catiline’s army and all the conspirators. The more vigorously you do these things, the more discouraged will their minds be. If they

see you only for an instant unsettled, they will all immediately behave with ferocity. Do not think that our ancestors made the republic mighty from being small by their arms ; -if the case were so, we should then enjoy it most flourishing, since of allies and citizens, of arms moreover and horses, we have a larger stock than they had. But there were other things that made them great, none of which we have ; industry at home, a just government abroad ; minds fair and candid in debate, and neither slaves to error nor passion. Instead of these we have luxury and avarice, in public, poverty, in private, opulence ; we praise riches and pursue idleness. Between the good and the bad there is no difference. All the rewards of virtue ambition possesses. Nor is it wonderful, (whilst you each of you severally take counsel for your own interest), when at home you are slaves to pleasure, here to money or favour : therefore it happens that an attack is made on the abandoned state. But I pass by these things. Citizens of the highest quality have conspired to burn their country, and invite to the war the nation of the Gauls, most hostile to the Roman name. The leader of the enemy is over our head with his army. Do you even now delay and hesitate what to do to enemies arrested within the walls ? You should take pity on them I suppose. A few young men have made a mistake through their ambition, and you would even send them away with their arms. Truly that mildness and mercy, if they can get arms, will turn to your destruction. The case is indeed itself dismal, but you do not fear it. Yea that you do most thoroughly, but through sluggishness and feebleness of mind, one man waiting for one and another for another, ye are delaying, trusting I suppose to the immortal gods, who have frequently saved this state in the greatest dangers. But not by vows and womanish supplications is the aid of

the gods procured. By watching, by action, by carefully counselling, all things turn out well. When you have given up yourself to sloth and idleness, you will in vain invoke the gods : they are angry and hostile to you. In the days of our ancestors, Aulus Manlius Torquatus commanded his own son to be put to death because he had fought against the enemy contrary to his orders.

“ And that illustrious youth suffered punishment by his death for his ill-governed courage. Are you delaying what to decide against parricides ? The rest of their life I suppose is at variance with this crime. But regard the dignity of Lentulus if he himself ever regarded his own chastity, good name, the gods, or men. Pardon the youth of Cethegus, if this be not the second time he has made war upon his country. For what shall I say of Gabinius, Statilius, and Cæparius, who if they had had any thought at all would never have entertained such projects against the state. Lastly, O conscript fathers, if there were in truth any room for misconduct, I could easily suffer you to be set right by the event, since you regard not words. But on every side we are surrounded. Catiline is pressing with an army in our very teeth. There are other enemies within the walls, and in the bosom of the city. Nothing can either be prepared or planned without their knowledge ; wherefore we must use the greater expedition. Wherefore this is my opinion. Since by the wicked counsels of some abandoned citizens the state has come into the greatest danger, and these have been convicted by the testimony of Titus Volturcius and the ambassadors of the Allobroges, and have confessed that they had prepared slaughter, fire, and other foul and cruel deeds against their fellow citizens and their country, punishment is to be inflicted upon those who have confessed, as upon those who are manifestly

guilty of capital crimes, according to the custom of our ancestors."

53. After Cato sat down, ~~all those of consular rank,~~ as also a great part of the senate, praise his opinion, and extol the virtue of his mind to heaven. First one upbraiding one, and another another, call each cowards. Cato is pronounced illustrious and great. A decree of the senate is passed as he had voted. But by chance it was my desire, as I had read much and heard much of the noble actions which the Roman people had done at home and in war, by sea and by land, to consider attentively what thing most especially had supported such great affairs. I was aware that they had often with a small force fought with vast legions of the enemy. I knew too, that with small forces wars had been waged with rich kings; in addition to this, that they had often endured the violence of fortune; that in eloquence the Greeks, and in renown for war the Gauls, were before the Romans. And to me revolving many things in my mind, it was evident that the signal virtue of a few citizens did all, and therefore it came to pass, that poverty excelled riches, small numbers a multitude. But when the state was corrupted by luxury and sloth, yet still the republic by its own vastness sustained the vices of its commanders and magistrates, and just as in the case of a mother worn out, for a long time there was no one in truth at Rome distinguished for his virtue. But in my memory, there were two men of great virtue, but of different disposition, Marcus Cato and Caius Cæsar; whom, since the circumstances have brought them before our notice, it is not my intention to pass by in silence, so as not to enlarge upon, as well as my ability allows me, the natural dispositions and behaviour of each.

54. Accordingly their family, their age, and eloquence were almost alike. The greatness of their soul was equal, so also was their glory, but different in each. Cæsar was accounted great from his noble actions, and his munificence ; Cato by his integrity of life. The former became renowned by mildness and mercy ; to the latter his severity added dignity. Cæsar by giving, assisting, and pardoning ; Cato, by bestowing nothing, gained glory. In the one there was refuge to the wretched, in the other destruction to the bad. The affability of the former, the constancy of the latter, was praised. Lastly, Cæsar had induced his mind to labour, to watch ; intent on the business of his friends to neglect his own ; to deny nothing that was worthy of a gift ; for himself he desired a great command, an army, and a new war, where his valour might be conspicuous. But Cato's line was for moderation, order, but most of all for strict discipline. He did not vie with the rich in riches, nor in faction with the factious, but in valour with the brave, in modesty with the modest, with the innocent in self-denial. He chose rather to be good than to seem so, and therefore the less he sought glory the more it followed him.

55. After the senate as I said went over to Cato's opinion, the consul, thinking it the best way to take advantage of the night which was just at hand, lest any new plan should be adopted in the interval, bids the triumvirs prepare what things the punishment required. He himself having distributed guards, conducts Lentulus to prison. The same is done to the rest by ~~the prætors.~~ There is a place in the prison which is called Tullianum, when you have ascended a little to the left, sunk about twelve feet into the ground. Walls surround it on every side, and over it is a roof strengthened by stone arches ; but it is filthy from neglect, darkness, and stench, and its appear-

ance is horrible. As soon as Lentulus was lowered into this place, the executioner of capital offences, to whom it was commanded, broke his neck with a rope. Thus did that patrician, of the most illustrious family of the Cornelii, and who had held the dignity of consul at Rome, find an end to his life worthy of his manners and deeds. Punishment was inflicted on Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinus, and Cæparius in the same manner.

56. Whilst these things are being done at Rome, Catiline formed two legions out of all the force which he had himself led, and Manlius had, and makes up his cohorts according to the number of his men ; and then just as any man came as a volunteer, or from his friends to the camp, he disposed of them equally among his troops, and in a short time made his legions full as to the number of men, though he had not at first more than two thousand men. But out of all this force about a fourth part was furnished with the arms of soldiers. The rest, just as chance had armed each, carried spears or lances, and some sharpened stakes. But when Antony came with his army, Catiline began to march through the mountains, and at one time moved his camp towards the city, another time towards Gaul, and gave no opportunity of fighting to the enemy. He hoped he should speedily have a vast army, if his friends should accomplish their attempts at Rome. In the meanwhile he refused the slaves, of whom at first great crowds flocked to him, relying on the strength of the conspiracy, at the same time thinking it inconsistent with his plans to appear to have mixed the interest of citizens with runaway slaves.

57. But when a messenger came into the camp, that the conspiracy was detected at Rome, and that punishment had been inflicted upon Lentulus, Cethegus and the rest whom I have mentioned above, many, whom hope of

plunders or a desire for change had tempted to the war, slip away. The rest Catiline leads away into the territory of Pistorium by long marches through difficult mountains, with the intention of secretly flying through the narrow passes into Transalpine Gaul. But Quintus Metellus Celer with three legions was governor in the territory of Picenum, imagining that Catiline, from the great difficulty he was in, would do the very same things which we have just mentioned. Accordingly, as soon as he knew his march by some deserters, he hastily moved his camp, and took up his station under the very roots of the mountains, where must be his descent as he hastened into Gaul. Nor indeed was Antony far off, considering he was with a large army and along the lower country following as they fled men who had no baggage. But Catiline, when he saw himself surrounded by mountains and the forces of the enemy, that all was wrong in the city, and that there was no hope for flight or defence, thinking it best in such a case to try the fortune of war, determined to engage as soon as possible with Antony. Therefore having called an assembly, he delivered a speech to the following effect :—

58. “ I consider it a thing proved, O soldiers, that words do not add bravery to men, nor that by the speech of its commander can an army become active from being slothful, or brave from being cowardly. Just as much boldness as there is in any man’s spirit either by nature or disposition, so much is wont to be exhibited in war. Him whom neither glory nor dangers excite, you will in vain exhort. Fear stops up the ears of the mind. But I have called you together in order to give you a little advice, as well as to unfold the reason of my design. You know indeed, my comrades, how much ruin the sloth and cowardice of Lentulus has brought upon himself and us,

and how, whilst I was waiting for reinforcements from the city, I could not set out for Gaul. Now indeed you all know almost as well as I do in what condition our affairs are.

“Two armies of the enemy, the one from the city the other from Gaul are opposing us. To remain any longer in these places, even though our mind was very anxious that way, want of corn and other things prevent. Whithersoever we choose to go, the way must be opened by the sword. Wherefore I exhort you to be of a brave and ready mind, and when you shall engage, remember that you carry in your right hands, riches, honour, glory—moreover, your liberty and your country. If we conquer, all things will be safe to us, nay in abundance; the boroughs and colonies will be opened. But if we shall yield through fear, these same things will become hostile to us, nor will any place or friend protect him whom his arms shall not have protected. Moreover, my comrades, the same necessity is not incumbent upon us and them. We contend for our country, our liberty, and our life. It is superfluous for them to fight for the power of a few, wherefore attack them the more boldly, mindful of your former valour. We might have lived in exile with the utmost disgrace. Some of you might have waited at Rome for other persons’ property, your own goods being lost. But because those things appeared disgraceful and intolerable to brave men, you determined to pursue this course. If you are desirous to get rid of your present condition, you have need of boldness. No one, except he be conqueror, has ever changed war for peace. For to expect safety in flight when you have thrown away the arms by which the person is protected, this is indeed madness.

“There is always in a battle the greatest danger to those who are the most afraid. Boldness is esteemed as

a wall of defence. When I consider you my comrades and ponder your deeds, great hope of victory possesses me. Your spirit, your age, your valour encourage me, the necessity moreover which makes even the timid brave. For the narrowness of the place prevents the enemy from being able to surround us. But if fortune envies your bravery, take care that ye do not lose your life unrevengeed, nor rather, being taken be butchered like cattle, than fighting like men, leave the enemy a bloody and sorrowful victory."

59. When he had said these things, having delayed a little, he bids the trumpets sound, and leads down his troops drawn up for battle into a level place. And then, the horses of all being sent away, in order that when the danger was made alike there might be greater boldness to the soldiers, he himself on foot draws up his army according to the place and his forces. For as there was a plain between the mountains on the left hand, and on the right a craggy rock, he places eight cohorts in front, the rest of the standards he draws up more closely as a body of reserve. From these he moves into the first rank all the centurions and old soldiers, as well as every best armed man of the common soldiers. He appoints Caius Manlius to command on the right, and a certain man of Fæsulæ on the left. He himself with his freedmen and colonists, took his station near the eagle, which Caius Marius was said to have had in his army in the Cimbrian war. But on the other side Caius Antonius being ill with the gout, since he could not be present at the battle, commits the army to Marcus Petreius his lieutenant. He posts the veteran cohorts which he had levied on account of this rebellion in the front, and behind them the rest of the army as a body of reserve. He himself riding about on horseback, addresses each man by name, exhorts and

implores them to remember that they are fighting for their country, their children, their altars, and their hearths, against unarmed robbers. And as he was a soldier (since for more than thirty years either as tribune, or præfect, or lieutenant, or prætor, he had been engaged in military service with great reputation) he had known many of them and their brave actions, by taking notice of these he raised the minds of his soldiers.

60. But when, all things being prepared, Petreius gives the signal with his trumpet, he bids the cohorts advance a little. The army of the enemy did the same thing. After they came to that distance from which the battle could be waged by the light armed soldiers, they engage with hostile standards with the greatest clamour ; they throw aside their javelins, and the battle is fought with swords. The veterans mindful of their ancient valour hand to hand press fiercely on ; the others bravely resist. They contend with the greatest fury. In the meanwhile Catiline with his light armed men moves about in the first line, relieves the wavering, brings up fresh men instead of the wounded, provides every thing, himself fights fiercely, and frequently strikes the enemy ; and performed at once the duties of a brave soldier and a good commander. Petreius, when he sees Catiline, contrary to what he expected, fight with great obstinacy, brings the prætorian cohort into the midst of the enemies, and slays them thrown into confusion, and rallying some in one place and others in another. Then he attacks the rest in flank on both sides. Manlius and he of Fæsulæ fall fighting amongst the first. When Catiline sees his forces routed and himself left with a small party, mindful of his family and former dignity, he rushes into the thickest of the enemy, and there fighting is slain.

61. But when the battle was finished, then in truth

you might see how much boldness and how great vigour of mind had been in the army of Catiline. For universally, whatever place each man when alive had taken up for fighting, that, when he had lost his life, he covered with his body. But a few, the middle of whom the prætorian cohort had dispersed, had fallen a little more widely, but all however with wounds in front.

But Catiline was found at a great distance from his own men amongst the corpses of the enemy, still breathing a little, and retaining in his face the ferocity of his soul which he had when alive. Finally, out of all that number, neither in the battle nor in the flight was any free-born citizen taken. Thus all had spared their own and their enemies' life just alike. Nor however did the army of the Roman people gain a joyful or bloodless victory. For every one who was the bravest either had fallen in battle or departed severely wounded. But many who had gone out of the camp either for the sake of viewing the ground or plundering, as they turned over the corpses of the enemies, found some a friend, others a host or relation. There were some also who recognized their enemies. Thus in different ways, through the whole army, were delight, sorrow, grief, and joy experienced.

THE
JUGURTHINE WAR
OF SALLUST.

1. THE human race falsely complains of its own nature, that being infirm and of a short duration it is ruled more by chance than virtue. For on the other hand, by considering the matter, you can find nothing more great nor more excellent, and that men's industry rather than ability or time is wanting to their nature. But the leader and commander of the life of men is the soul, which, when it marches to glory in the path of virtue, is abundantly vigorous, able, and glorious, nor has any need of fortune ; inasmuch as it can neither give to, nor take from, any one, probity, industry, or other good qualities. But if captivated by wicked desires it is given up to sloth and the pleasures of the body, after it has for a little while indulged its fatal desire, and when by sloth, vigour, time, and ability have disappeared, the infirmity of nature is blamed, since the actors always throw what is their own faults upon circumstances. But if men had as much concern for things good, as they anxiously pursue things of a different kind, and which will in no ways profit them, nay are really very dangerous, they neither would rather be governed by, than govern, chance ; and would advance to that degree of grandeur where, instead of being mortals, they would become immortal in glory.

2. For as mankind is made up of body and soul, so all our concerns and all our pursuits follow, some the nature

of the body, and others the nature of the soul. Therefore a beautiful countenance, great riches, moreover strength of body, and all other things of the same kind dissolve speedily. But the noble productions of the mind like the soul itself are immortal. Lastly, as there is a beginning so there is an end to the goods of the body and of fortune, and all things that have risen, set, and those that have grown become old. But the soul, incorruptible, eternal, the ruler of mankind, manages and possesses all things, nor is itself overruled. Wherefore their depravity is the more to be wondered at, who being given up to the pleasures of the body pass their life in luxury and idleness, but allow their mind, than which there is nothing else in human nature either better or greater, to slumber in neglect and sloth ; when especially there are so many and various resources of the mind by which the utmost renown is acquired.

3. But of these, magistracies and generalships, and lastly all concern for public affairs appear to me at this time by no means desirable. Since honour is neither given to virtue, nor are those who have obtained offices by fraudulent means secure, or on that account more honourable. For to govern your country or parents by violence indeed, although you are both able, and may correct faults, is nevertheless troublesome, since especially all revolutions of affairs portend slaughter, flight, and other hostile things. But to go on striving to no purpose and by fatiguing oneself to gain nothing else but hatred, is the act of the greatest madness, except perhaps a dishonest and dangerous desire prompts any one to sacrifice his honour and liberty to the power of a few.

4. But of those pursuits which are exercised by the mind, the relation of noble actions is especially of great use. Of the excellency of which because many have

written I think we must pass it over, as also lest any one should think that out of vanity I am extolling myself by praising my own employment; and I believe that there will be those who, because I have determined to pass my life far from the republic, will give the name of idleness to this so great and so useful a labour of mine, at least those to whom it seems the greatest industry to canvass the people, and by entertainments to gain popularity. Who, if they would reflect both at what times I obtained office, and what sort of men were unable to obtain the same honour, and what sort of men afterwards got into the senate, will certainly think that I altered the opinion of my mind more from the sense of my own merit than from sloth; and that greater advantage will arise to the republic from my retirement than from the exertions of others; for I have often heard that Quintus Maximus, Publius Scipio, and other illustrious men besides of our state were accustomed thus to speak, that when they looked upon the statues of their ancestors their own minds were most vehemently inflamed to virtue. Not forsooth that that wax or image had so great power in itself, but this flame grew in the hearts of these illustrious men by the recollection of their great actions, nor was extinguished before that their own virtue equalled the fame and glory of these men. But on the other hand, who is there of all of such qualities as not to vie with his ancestors in riches and expenses, instead of probity and industry? Even men of low origin who before were accustomed by means of virtue to outstrip the nobility, by stealth and by roguery rather than by good arts, strive for commands and honours. Just as if the prætorship and consulship and all other offices of this kind were in themselves illustrious and magnificent, and not esteemed just as is the virtue of those who sustain them. But I have run on too freely and too far on this

subject, while I am ashamed and disgusted with the morals of the state. Now I return to my purpose.

5. I am about to narrate the war which the Roman people waged with Jugurtha, the king of the Numidians; first, because it was great and terrible and of doubtful victory; and secondly because then was the first stand made against the insolence of the nobility; which dispute confounded all things both divine and human, and advanced to such a pitch of madness, that by civil factions war and desolation were making an end of Italy. But before I make a beginning of this subject, I must go back a little, in order that, to understand the matter, all things may be more clear and more open. In the second Punic war, in which Hannibal the general of the Carthaginians had in the greatest degree since the grandeur of the Roman name injured the power of Italy, Masinissa, the king of the Numidians, being received into friendship by Publius Scipio, who had afterwards the surname of Africanus from his valour, had exhibited many gallant deeds of arms. In consideration of which, when the Carthaginians were conquered, and Syphax was taken, whose empire in Africa was great and widely powerful, the Roman people gave whatever cities and countries it had taken by war to the king for a gift. Therefore Masinissa's alliance remained useful and faithful to us. But the end of his empire and life was the same. Then Micipsa his son by himself obtained the empire, his brothers Mastanabal and Gulussa having been taken off by disease. He himself begot Atherbal and Hiempsal, and maintained at his house, in the same manner as his own children, Jugurtha, the son of his brother Mastanabal, whom Masinissa, because he was born of a concubine, had left in the condition of a private person.

6. Who, as soon as he came to man's estate, being

powerful in bodily strength, and of handsome countenance, but principally of most vigorous mind, did not give himself up to be ruined by luxury and idleness, but as is the custom of that nation, he rode, threw the lance, contended in running with his companions, and although he excelled all in glory, he was nevertheless beloved by all. Besides he spent most of his time in hunting, he was either the first or amongst the first to strike the lion and other wild beasts, he did the most and yet he said the least of himself. With which things though Micipsa was at first well pleased, as supposing that Jugurtha's valour would be a glory to his kingdom, yet when he finds that the young man grows more and more in fame, his own life being now far spent, and his children being but small, being very much disturbed by this circumstance, he revolved many things in his mind. The nature of mankind terrified him, greedy of power and headlong to gratify the desire of their mind; moreover the advantage offered by his own age and that of his children, which leads astray by the hope of plunder even moderate men. Added to this, the affections of the Numidians were very strong towards Jugurtha; from all which things, were he secretly to kill such a man, he was fearful lest any sedition or war should arise.

7. Surrounded by these difficulties, when he sees that neither by force nor by secret contrivances a man so dear to the populace can be taken off; as Jugurtha was ready with his hand, and eager for military glory, he determined to expose him to dangers, and in this way to make trial of fortune. Therefore in the war with Numantia, Micipsa, when he was sending to the Roman people assistance both of horse and foot, hoping that he would easily perish either by displaying his valour or by the fury of the enemy, made him commander of those Numidians whom he sent

to Spain. But that matter ended quite otherwise to what he expected. For Jugurtha, as he was of an active and enterprising mind, when he understood the nature of P. Scipio, who was then the commander of the Romans, and the custom of the enemy, by much labour and much industry, moreover by most modestly obeying his orders, and often by going to meet dangers, in a short time arrived to so great renown that he became exceedingly beloved by our men, and the greatest terror to the Numantines. And indeed, what is especially difficult, he was both active in battle and wise in council. One of which qualities from a foresight of danger is frequently apt to cause fear, the other from boldness, rashness. Therefore the general executed almost all desperate projects by means of Jugurtha, received him into the number of his friends, and grew every day more and more fond of him, as a man none of whose councils nor undertakings were in vain. To this was added liberality of mind and dexterity of genius, by which things he had united many of the Romans to himself in intimate friendship.

8. There were at that time in our army several men both of high and low rank, to whom riches were preferable to virtue and honour, party men, at home powerful, amongst the allies more renowned than honest; who inflamed the ambitious mind of Jugurtha by promising that if king Micipsa should die, it should be managed that he should possess the kingdom of Numidia all to himself; that in him was the greatest virtue, at Rome all things were sold. But when upon the reduction of Numantia, Publius Scipio determined to dismiss the allies, and himself to return home, he led Jugurtha into the general's tent, having been rewarded and magnificently praised in the face of the army, and there secretly advised him to cultivate the friendship of the Roman people rather publicly than

privately, nor accustom himself to use bribery with any ; that that was purchased with danger from the few which belonged to the many. If he would persevere in his own good practices, both glory and a kingdom would fall to him of their own accord, but if he should go on too hastily, he would by means of his money fall headlong.

9. Having thus spoken he dismissed him with a letter to deliver to Micipsa, the purport of which was as follows :—
“The valour of your Jugurtha has been by far the greatest in the Numantian war ; which thing I know for certain will be a joy to you. To us he is dear on account of his merits, and that he may be the same to the senate and people of Rome, we shall strive with all our power. You indeed I congratulate in regard to our friendship. Behold you have a man worthy of you and his grandfather Masinissa.” The king therefore, when those things he had heard by report he now found by the letter of the general were true, being excited as well by the valour as the favour of the man, changed his mind and endeavoured to conquer Jugurtha by kindness. He immediately adopted him and in his will appointed him his heir equally with his children. But he himself a few years after, worn out by disease and old age, when he knew that the end of his life had arrived, in the presence of his friends and relations as well as of Atherbal and Hiempsal his sons, is said to have addressed Jugurtha in the following words :—

10. “I received you, Jugurtha, into my kingdom, when a little one, having lost your father, without hope and without fortune, thinking that I should not be less dear to you for these benefits than if I had begotten you. Nor did this thing deceive me, for to pass by other great and noble deeds of yours, having just returned from Numantia you did me and my kingdom honour by your glory, and by your valour hast made the Romans from mere friends

most friendly to us. In Spain the name of our family is renewed. Lastly, what is most difficult amongst mortals, you have overcome envy by your glory. Now since nature is putting an end to my life, by this right hand, by the faith of royalty, I advise and call you to witness, to hold dear to you these who in race are your relations, by my kindness your brothers ; and not to prefer to attach to yourself foreigners, than to retain those who are united to you by blood. Armies and treasures are not the securities of a kingdom, but friends, whom you can neither force to be so by arms nor procure by gold. They are procured by good offices and fidelity. Who should be more a friend than one brother to another ? or what stranger will you find faithful to you if you are an enemy to your own relations ? I for my part deliver you a secure kingdom if you are good to each other, but if you are wicked, a weak one. For by unanimity small states grow great, by discord the greatest melt away. But it becomes you, Jugurtha, more than these, who are more advanced in age and wisdom than they are, to take care lest any thing should happen otherwise. For in every contest he who is more opulent, although he receives an injury, yet as he is more powerful, appears to do it. But do ye Atherbal and Hiempsal cultivate and reverence this great man, imitate his virtue, and strive that I may not appear to have adopted better sons than I have begotten."

11. To this Jugurtha although he was aware that the king spoke what was not sincere and he himself was planning very differently in his mind, yet made a kind answer suitable to the occasion. Micipsa died a few days after. After they had magnificently celebrated the proper funeral rites after the royal manner, the princes met together to discuss one with another concerning all their affairs. But Hiempsal, who was the youngest of them, being by nature

fieree, even before this despising the meanness of Jugurtha's origin, because by the mother's side he was inferior in family, sat by Atherbal on his right hand, lest Jugurtha should be in the middle of the three, which place is considered a mark of honour among the Numidians. Afterwards however being pressed by his brother to pay deference to Jugurtha's age, he with great difficulty went over to the other side. Then when they discoursed a good deal concerning carrying on the government, Jugurtha amongst other things proposes "That the acts and decrees of the last five years ought to be repealed, for during that time Micipsa, worn out with age, was scarcely in his right senses." Then Hiempsal answered "that the same thing was agreeable to him, for that Jugurtha within these three last years had come into the kingdom by adoption." Which speech sunk deeper into the heart of Jugurtha than any one thought. Therefore from that time being perplexed with anger and fear he laid schemes and contrived, and only had this thought in his mind, how Hiempsal might be taken off by treachery. But when these plans went on too slowly, and his enraged soul could not be appeased, he determined to accomplish his purpose by any way whatsoever.

12. In the first assembly which I above said was held by the princes, on account of the dissension it was determined that the treasures should be divided, and the boundaries of their empire marked out for each. Therefore a time is marked out for each business, but first for dividing the money. The princes in the mean time retired, one in one, and another in another direction to places near the treasures. But Hiempsal, when in the town Thirmida, by chance made use of the house of a man who had been Jugurtha's chief lictor, and always prized and valued by him. Which minister offered by fortune he loads with

promises, and prevails upon him that under the pretence of visiting his house he should prepare false keys of the doors, for the true ones used to be carried to Hiempsal.

But when the affair required it, he himself would come with a large force. The Numidian quickly executed his orders, and as he was instructed introduces Jugurtha's soldiers by night; who, as soon as they had burst into the house, in different directions sought for the king, some men they slew sleeping, others as they met them; they searched hidden places, broke open what were shut, and filled every thing with noise and tumult. Whilst in the mean time Hiempsal is found, hiding himself in the cottage of a maid servant, whither at the first he had fled, frightened and ignorant of the place. The Numidians carry his head, as they were ordered, to Jugurtha.

13. But the news of so great a crime was in a short time spread through all Africa. Fear came upon Atherbal, and all who had been under Micipsa's rule. The Numidians divide into two parties, the greater number follow Atherbal, but those who were braver in war, the other man. Jugurtha therefore arms as many forces as he is able. The cities, partly by force and partly with their own good will, he adds to his power, and prepares to be king of all Numidia. Atherbal, although he had sent ambassadors to Rome to inform the senate concerning the slaughter of his brother and his own fortunes, yet relying on the number of his soldiers prepared to resist him by arms. But when the matter came to the trial, being defeated he fled from the battle to the province, and thence went to Rome. Then Jugurtha, his plans being laid open, as he was now become master of all Numidia, coolly reflecting upon his crime in his mind, began to dread the Roman people, and had no hope against its resentment at all, except in the avarice of the nobility and his own

money. Therefore in a few days he sends ambassadors to Rome with much gold and silver, to whom he gives orders that they should first fill his old friends with gifts, and then gain new ones, in short not to hesitate to gain over whomever they could by bribes. But when the ambassadors came to Rome, and according to the king's orders sent great presents to their hosts and others, whose authority at that time had great weight in the senate, so great a change ensued, that from the greatest odium Jugurtha came into the good graces and favour of the nobility, part of whom induced by hopes, others by reward, endeavoured by canvassing every individual member of the senate, that no severe resolution should be passed against him. Therefore when the ambassadors are sufficiently secure, on an appointed day an audience is given to both parties. Atherbal spoke we have heard in this way,

14. "O conscript fathers, Micipsa my father at his death gave me a charge, that I should look upon the administration of the kingdom of Numidia only as mine, but that the right and sovereignty should be in your power; at the same time that I should strive both at home and in war to be of as much service as I could to the Roman people, and regard you in the place of relations and connexions to me; if I did so I should find an army, riches, and the safeguard of my kingdom in your friendship. Which precepts of my father when I was revolving in my mind, Jugurtha the most wicked man of all whom the earth sustains, despising your authority, drove from my kingdom and all my possessions me the grandson of Masinissa, and even from my birth the ally and friend of the Roman people. And yet, O conscript fathers, since I was to be reduced to such a state of misery, I could wish that I could seek assistance from you rather on account of my own than my ancestors' services, and above all that kind

acts were due to me by the Roman people, which I should not want ; in the next place, if they were needed, that I might make use of them as my due. But since integrity itself is alone by no means secure, nor was it in my power to direct how Jugurtha should turn out, I have fled to you, O conscript fathers, to whom, a thing most disagreeable to me, I am compelled to be a burden before I am of any use. Other kings, either having been conquered in war, have been received into friendship by you, or in their own difficulties have sought for your alliance.

“ Our family commenced their friendship with the Roman people in the Carthaginian war, at which time their honour was more to be regarded than their fortune. Me the offspring of whom and the grandson of Masinissa, suffer not to implore assistance from you in vain. If I had no other reason for procuring it except my miserable fortune ; that I a little before, a king, by birth, fame, and forces powerful, am now, disgraced by cares and in poverty, waiting for foreign assistance ; yet it were the office of the majesty of the Roman people to ward off injustice, nor to allow the kingdom of any one to increase by crime. But I have been forced out of those boundaries which the Roman people gave to my ancestors, from whence my father and grandfather together with you expelled Syphax and the Carthaginians. Your favours have been taken from me, you, O conscript fathers, have been slighted by my wrong. Alas ! wretch that I am ; have your kindnesses O father Micipsa come to this, that the man whom you made equal with your children and a sharer in your kingdom should above all others be the destroyer of your race ? Shall our family then never be at rest ? Shall we always be concerned with blood, the sword, and exile ? While the Carthaginians were unchecked, we naturally used to suffer all kinds of mis-

fortunes. An enemy was close at hand, you our friends at a distance ; all our hopes were in our arms. But when that plague was ejected from Africa, we gladly enjoyed peace, as men who had no enemy except perhaps some one whom you had appointed to us. But behold on a sudden, Jugurtha carrying himself with intolerable boldness, crime and pride, having slain my brother, and him too his own relation, first made his kingdom the prize of his crime ; then as he was unable to take by the same treachery me, who was expecting nothing less than violence and war, me I say, even in your kingdom, as you see banished from my country, from home, and poor and overwhelmed with miseries, he has brought it to pass that I should be in more safety any where rather than in my own kingdom.

“ I used thus to think, O conscript fathers, as I heard my father asserting, that those who diligently cultivated your friendship must take upon themselves much trouble, but were of all mankind most secure. That which it was in the power of our family to do, it afforded ; so that it assisted you in every war ; that we should be secure and in ease is in your power, O conscript fathers. My father left us two brothers, and thought that Jugurtha would be joined to us as the third by his favours. One of the three is murdered ; I myself have scarcely escaped the impious hands of the other. What shall I do ? Or whither especially shall I wretched betake myself ? All the assistances of my own family are destroyed ; my father, as was necessary, has yielded to nature ; a relation, whom least of all such a crime became, has by wickedness taken away my brother’s life ; as for my relations, my friends and connexions, one kind of murder has taken off some, another others. Being taken prisoners by Jugurtha, some have been crucified, some thrown to wild beasts,

a few whose life has been spared, being shut up in darkness with sorrow and grief, are leading a life worse than death. If all the things which I have either lost, or which instead of being friendly have been made hostile to me, were still untouched, I should nevertheless make supplication to you, O conscript fathers, were any misfortune to have happened suddenly; to whom, by reason of your vast dominion, it is becoming that justice and all injustice should be a care. Now however to whom shall I go, or whom shall I address, an exile from my country and home, deserted and destitute of every thing respectable? Shall I apply to those nations or kings who are all hostile to our family on account of our friendship with you? Or is it in my power to go any whither where there are not many hostile monuments of my ancestors? Or can any one pity me who has ever been an enemy to you?

“Lastly, Masinissa gave us these instructions, O conscript fathers, that we should court no one except the Roman people, nor engage in any alliances or new treaties; that we should have in all abundance great security in your friendship, but if the fortune of this empire should be changed, that we must perish with it. By your valour and the favour of the gods, ye are great and opulent, all things are prosperous and obedient to you, so that it is in your power with more ease to attend to the injuries of your allies. I only fear this, lest the private favour of Jugurtha, not enough understood, should lead astray any men; who I understand are striving with all their power, canvassing and importuning you man by man, not to determine any thing concerning him in his absence, while his cause is unheard; that I am making up a story, and pretending exile, who might have remained in my kingdom. But would that I could see him, by whose impious crime I am hurled into these miseries, pretending these

same things, and that at length either with you or the immortal gods there should arise some regard for human affairs ; that he who is now fierce and proud through his crimes, tormented by all kinds of evils, may pay a heavy penalty for his impiety towards our parent, the murder of my brother, and my miseries. Now, now, O brother, dearest to my soul, although life has been taken away from you before the time, and from a quarter whence such a crime was least fitting, I think your calamity was rather to be rejoiced over than bewailed. For you did not lose together with your life a kingdom, so much as exile, banishment, and all those other calamities which are now oppressing me. But I, wretch that I am, being hurled into so great evils, being driven from my father's kingdom, afford an instance of human affairs ; uncertain what to do, whether to prosecute the wrongs due to you, I myself being destitute of assistance, or whether to take measures for my kingdom, I a man, the disposal of whose life and death depends on the power of others. Would that I could die, that there might be an honourable termination to my misfortunes ; that I might not seem to live despised, if worn out by wrongs I must yield to injustice. Now I neither wish to live, nor is it permitted me to die without disgrace. O conscript fathers, by yourselves, by your children and parents, by the majesty of the Roman people, assist me wretched, advance against injustice, refuse to suffer the kingdom of Numidia which is yours, to waste away by crime and the blood of our family."

15. When the king had made an end of speaking, the ambassadors of Jugurtha, relying more upon their bribes than their cause, answer in a few words "That Hiempsal had been slain by reason of his own cruelty by the Numidians ; that Atherbal who had on his own accord

begun the war, when he had been overcome, now complained because he could not effect the injury ; that Jugurtha besought the senate not to believe him different to what he was known to be at Numantia, nor place his enemy's words before his own actions." Then both parties depart out of the senate house. The senate immediately deliberates. The favourers of the ambassadors, and a great party besides corrupted by their influence, began to slight Atherbal's speech, and extol with their praises Jugurtha's bravery ; and by their influence, their voice, and in a word by all ways, they struggled in behalf of another man's crime and wickedness as if for their own glory. But on the other hand, a few men to whom virtue and justice were dearer than riches, gave it as their opinion that assistance ought to be given to Atherbal, and Hiempsal's murder severely punished. But the most eminent of all these was Æmilius Scaurus, a man of noble birth, active, factious, greedy of power, honour, and riches, but cunningly concealing his vices. He, when he sees that the bribery of the king was notorious and barefaced, fearing, as it usually happens in such a case, lest the abandoned licentiousness should increase the odium, restrained his mind from his accustomed desire.

16. That party however prevailed in the senate which preferred money and favour to truth. It was decreed that ten ambassadors should divide between Atherbal and Jugurtha the kingdom which Micipsa had possessed. Of which commission Lucius Opimius was the head, an illustrious man, and then powerful in the senate, because when consul, Caius Gracchus and Marcus Fulvius having been slain, he had very severely executed the vengeance of the nobility against the common people. Him Jugurtha, although he had had him in the number of his friends at Rome, nevertheless received with great ceremony, and

by giving and promising him many things, he contrived that he should prefer the interest of the king to his fame, his honour, and in short to all other things. Having gone to work with the other ambassadors in the same way, he overcomes the greatest number of them ; to a few their honour was dearer than money. In the division, that part of Numidia which touches on Mauritania, as being richer in land and in people, is assigned to Jugurtha. The other part, better in appearance than reality, which was more full of harbours, and better adorned with buildings, Atherbal had. The circumstances seem to require that I should explain in a few words the situation of Africa, and touch upon those nations with whom we had war or friendship. But those places and nations which were less inhabited on account of their heat or ruggedness, and also their desert state, about them I must narrate what is not very certainly known, but the rest I will despatch in as few words as possible.

17. In the division of the earth most authors have placed Africa in the third part ; a few say that there are but two, Asia and Europe, but that Africa is in Europe. This has for its boundaries on the west the strait between our sea and the ocean ; on the east a declivitous wide place, which the inhabitants call Catabathmos. The sea is rough and without any harbours. The land is fertile in fruits, good for cattle, but unfavourable for trees ; there is great want of water both from the clouds and the earth ; the race of men there are of healthy body, swift of foot, and patient of labour ; the greatest number old age despatches, except those who have died by the sword or by wild beasts ; for disease very seldom destroys any one. But to this there are many animals of a noxious nature. But what men originally possessed Africa, and who afterwards arrived there, or how they were mixed

one with another, I will give an account in as few words as possible, although my account be different from that report which prevails with most, but nevertheless as it was translated to me from the Carthaginian books which were said to be king Hiempsal's, and just as the cultivators of that land think the truth to be. But the credibility of this matter must rest with the authors of it.

18. The Gætulians and Libyans possessed Africa in the beginning ; rough and unpolished ; whose food was the flesh of wild beasts and the herbage of the ground, just as cattle. These were governed neither by customs nor by the law or rule of any one ; strolling about and wandering they had for their resting place whatever the night compelled them to take. But after Hercules died in Africa as the Africans have it, his army, composed of various nations, having lost their leader, and many persons every where seeking for the command, each one for himself, in a short time falls to pieces. Of that number the Medes, Persians, and Armenians being carried over in ships to Africa, seized those parts which are nearest to our sea. But the Persians were more upon the ocean ; and these men had the hulls of their ships turned bottom upwards instead of cottages, because there were neither any materials in the fields nor had they any opportunity of buying or bartering any from Spain. A wide sea and a language unknown to them prevented any commerce. These men by degrees mingled the Gætulians with themselves by means of marriages, and because as they made trial of the soils, they had sought first one place and then another, they called themselves Numidæ. But even to this day the cottages of the rustic Numidæ, which they call *mapalia*, being oblong and covered over with curved sides are just like the keels of ships. But the Libyans joined the Medes and Armenians ; for these lived nearer the African

sea. The Gætulians lived more to the sun, not far from the torrid zone, and they quickly had towns. For being divided by a narrow sea from Spain they soon began to exchange goods one with another. The Libyans by degrees altered their names, calling them in their barbarous language Mauri instead of Medi. But the affairs of the Persians increased in a short time, and afterwards the Nomo-Numidæ, on account of their great numbers, having separated from their parents, possessed that region, which being close to Carthage is called Numidia. Then each party relying on the other, reduced, either by their arms or their fear, their neighbours under their power, and added a name and glory to themselves, especially those who had gone to our sea, because the Libyans were less warlike than the Gætulians. Finally the lower part of Africa was most of it overrun by the Numidians; and all who were conquered fell into the race and name of the conquerors.

19. Afterwards the Phœnicians, some for the sake of lessening the great population at home, some from a desire of power, the common people being excited, and others being desirous of novelty, founded Hippo, Hadrumetum, Leptis, and other cities upon the sea coast. And these having grown considerably in a short time, became some a security and others an ornament to their founders. For as to Carthage I think it better to be silent than to speak but little, since the time admonishes me to hasten to another subject. Wherefore by Catabathmos, which place separates Ægypt from Africa, down the sea, the first place is Cyrene, a colony of the Thereans; and then the two Syrtes, and between them Leptis; then the altars of the Phileni, which place the Carthaginians had as the boundary of their empire towards Ægypt; and after them other Carthaginian cities. The other places, as far as Mauritania, the Numidæ possess. The Moors are

next to Spain. Above Numidia we have heard that the Gætulians dwell, some in cottages, others wandering more savagely : next to them are the Æthiopians ; and then, places burnt up by the sun's heat. Therefore in the Jugurthine war, most of the Carthaginian towns, and the territories of the Carthaginians, which they had lately had, the Roman people used to govern by magistrates. A great part of the Gætulians and Numidia up to the river Mulucha, was under Jugurtha. King Bocchus ruled over all the Moors, a stranger to the Roman people in every thing else but his name ; and also not known to us before, either by peace or war. Concerning Africa and its inhabitants I have spoken sufficiently for the demand of my subject.

20. When the commissioners had departed from Africa after having divided the kingdom, and Jugurtha, contrary to the apprehensions of his mind sees that he has gained the rewards of his villany, thinking it certain as he had heard from his friends at Numantia that all things were to be bought and sold at Rome, being also inflamed by the promises of those whom a little while before he had loaded with presents, he sets his mind upon the kingdom of Atherbal. He himself was active and warlike, but the man whom he intended to attack was quiet, unwarlike, of a peaceful disposition, a fit subject for injury, and more fearful than to be feared. Therefore on a sudden Jugurtha attacks his territories with a great army, takes many men with cattle and other plunder, burns the houses, and approaches many towns in a hostile manner with his cavalry. Then he returned with all his forces into his own kingdom, thinking that Atherbal excited with anger would resent his own injuries by force, and that this would be a reason for war. But he, as he neither considered himself equal in arms and relied more on the

friendship of the Roman people than on the Numidians, sent ambassadors to Jugurtha to complain of these injuries; and although they brought back an insulting message, he determined to undergo every thing rather than commence war, because as it had been before tried, it had turned out unfavourably. Nor was Jugurtha's ambition on this account more diminished, as he was a man who had already in mind devoured his whole kingdom. Therefore not as before with a band of plunderers, but with a numerous and regular army he began to wage war, and openly to seek the kingdom of all Numidia. But wherever he went, he laid waste town and country, drove away plunder, and increased the confidence of his own men but the terror of the enemies.

21. Atherbal, when he understands that matters are come to this, that either his kingdom must be abandoned or retained by arms, from necessity levies troops and marches to meet Jugurtha. In the mean time the army of each encamped not far from the sea, and near the town Cirta, and because it was the close of the day the battle was not begun. But when most of the night was spent, the light being yet very dim, the soldiers of Jugurtha, a signal having been given, attack the enemies' camp and put to flight and rout them partly half asleep and others taking up their arms. Atherbal with a few soldiers fled to Cirta, and had there not been a great multitude of Romans, which repulsed the pursuing Numidians from the walls, the war between the two kings would have been begun and ended in one day. Therefore Jugurtha surrounded the town, and by pent houses, towers, and engines of all kinds endeavours to take it, especially hastening to anticipate the return of the ambassadors who he had heard were sent to Rome by Atherbal before the battle was fought. But when the senate heard of their war,

three young men are sent as ambassadors into Africa, to visit both kings, and tell them in the words of the senate and the Roman people, "That they wished and commanded them to depart from their arms, and dispute concerning their quarrels by law rather than by war; and that in this way it would be for the honour of the Romans and themselves."

22. The ambassadors come to Africa with all speed, the rather as news had arrived at Rome, whilst they were preparing to set out, of the battle that had been fought, and the siege of Cirta. But that rumour was too favourable. When the oration of these men had been heard, Jugurtha replied, "That nothing was greater or dearer to him than the authority of the senate. That from his youth he had always so endeavoured to act as to be approved by every excellent man. That by virtue and not by crime he had been pleasing to Publius Scipio, that most illustrious man, and on account of the same good qualities he had been adopted into the kingdom by Micipsa, and not for want of sons. But the more actions he had done well and bravely, by so much his mind could less endure injustice. That Atherbal had with treachery formed a plot against his life, which when he had found out, he had resisted his crime. That the Roman people would do neither well nor for their advantage if they debarred him from the common right of nations. Finally, that he would send in a short time ambassadors to Rome about all these matters." Therefore both parties separate. There was no opportunity of addressing Atherbal.

23. Jugurtha, when he thought that they had departed from Africa, and is unable from the nature of the place to take Cirta by assault, surrounds the walls with a rampart and a ditch, builds up towers and strengthens them with garrisons, and besides by day and night makes attempts

either by assault or stratagems; at one time offers rewards to the defenders of the walls, at another time threats; by exhorting his own men, excites them to valour, and very intently makes every preparation. Atherbal, as he finds all his fortunes placed in the last extremity, a bitter enemy, no hope of assistance, and that from the want of necessaries the war could not be prolonged, chose two most active men out of those who had fled with him to Cirta; and prevails upon them by promising them many things, and by lamenting his condition, to go by night through the enemies' lines to the nearest sea-port and then to Rome. The Numidians in a few days execute his orders. Atherbal's letter was read in the senate, the contents of which were as follows:—

24. "From no fault of mine I so often send to you to make supplication, O conscript fathers, but Jugurtha's violence compels me, on whom there has come so great a desire of destroying me, that he neither cares for you or the immortal gods, and had rather have my blood than all things besides; and therefore this is now the fifth month that I, the ally and friend of the Roman people, am kept blocked up by arms, nor do the kindnesses of my father Micipsa, nor your decrees assist me. I am uncertain whether I am more sharply pressed by sword or famine. My misfortune discourages me from writing more things concerning Jugurtha. I have even before this experienced that there is but little credit given to the wretched. But however I am certain that he seeks something beyond what I am now, and never expects to enjoy your friendship and my kingdom together; which of the two he considers the more important is a secret to no man. For at first he murdered Hiempsal my brother, and then drove me from my father's kingdom. Which injuries let them be ours only, and have nothing to do with you.

But now he holds your kingdom by force of arms ; me, whom ye made king of the Numidians, he besieges shut up, and how much he values the words of your ambassadors, my dangers show. What then is left except your power by which he can be moved ? For I indeed could wish that both these things which I am writing, and those things which I before complained of were groundless, rather than that my misery should gain credit to my words. But since I was born for this purpose to be a proof of Jugurtha's crimes, I do not now deprecate death or misery, but only the power of my enemy and the torture of my body. Take measures for the kingdom of Numidia which is yours, just as you please, but rescue me from his impious hands, by the majesty of your empire, by the honour of our alliance, if any memory remains yet with you of my grandfather Masinissa."

25. This letter being read, there were some who gave it as their opinion that an army should be sent to Africa, and assistance given as soon as possible to Atherbal ; in the meanwhile that a consultation should be held concerning Jugurtha, as he had not obeyed the ambassadors. But a struggle was made by the same creatures of the king with all their power, that no such decree should be passed. Thus the public good, as often happens, was overcome by private interest. Some elderly noblemen however are sent over into Africa, who had held the greatest dignities, amongst whom was Marcus Scaurus, concerning whom I have above spoken, a man of consular rank, and then the chief of the senate. These men, as this affair was viewed with great odium, and being at the same time pressed by the Numidians, embarked in three days, and then in a short time landing at Utica, they send a letter to Jugurtha, ordering him to repair as quickly as possible to his pro-

vince, that they were sent to him by the senate. He, when he understood that illustrious men, whose authority he had heard was great at Rome, had come against his designs, was at first differently agitated, excited by fear as well as ambition. He feared the anger of the senate were he to disobey the ambassadors ; but then his mind blinded by desire hurried him on to the wickedness already begun. A bad plan however prevailed in his ambitious soul. Therefore an army having surrounded the place, he endeavours with all his power to burst into Cirta, hoping more especially if the army of the enemies were divided, he might find some lucky chance for victory either by force or cunning. But as this turned out unfavourably and as he could not as he had intended manage to seize Atherbal before he met the ambassadors, for fear lest by delaying any longer he might incense Scaurus, whom he especially feared, he came with a few horsemen to the province ; and although heavy threats in the words of the senate were uttered, because he did not desist from the siege, a long oration having been made, the ambassadors returned with their purpose unanswered.

26. When these things were heard at Cirta, the Italians, by whose valour the walls were defended, trusting that if a surrender were made they themselves on account of the grandeur of the Roman people would be secure, persuade Atherbal to deliver up himself and his city to Jugurtha, and only bargain for his life from him, since for all other things the senate would provide. But he, although he thought every thing better than putting confidence in Jugurtha, yet since the power of compelling him, were he to refuse, was in the hands of the same men, made a surrender just as the Italians had proposed. Therefore Jugurtha in the first place puts Atherbal to

death after being tortured, and then slew all the full grown Numidians and merchants, without any distinction, just as each met him in their arms.

27. When this was known at Rome, and the matter began to be debated in the senate, these same servants of the king, by offering objections and often by their interest, and sometimes by prolonging time by their debates, endeavoured to lessen the odiousness of the act. And had not Caius Memmius, tribune of the commons elect, a man of activity, and hostile to the power of the nobility, informed the Roman people that this was done that by means of a few factious men Jugurtha's crime might be overlooked, without doubt all the odium, by delaying these consultations, would have passed away. So great was the power of the king's interest and money. But when the senate, from the consciousness of their guilt, is afraid of the people; by the Sempronian law Numidia and Italy are voted as provinces to the succeeding consuls; Publius Scipio Nasica and Lucius Bestia Calpurnius were made consuls, Numidia fell to Calpurnius, Italy to Scipio. Then an army is levied to be conveyed to Africa, and other things which would be necessary to the war are voted.

28. ~~But~~ Jugurtha, this intelligence so contrary to his expectation being communicated, as a man in whose mind it was impressed that all things were bought and sold at Rome, sends his son and two intimate friends to the senate as ambassadors; and orders them, as he had those whom he had sent after the murder of Hiempsal, to tempt every one with bribes. ~~As~~ soon as they reached Rome the senate was consulted by Bestia, whether it was their pleasure that the ambassadors of Jugurtha should be received within the walls. And they voted, that unless they had come to surrender Jugurtha's kingdom and him-

self, they should begone out of Italy within the ten next days. The consul orders a message to be given to the Numidians according to the decree of the senate. Thus they return home without having gained their purpose.

In the mean time Calpurnius, having raised an army, chooses as his lieutenants noble but factious men, by whose interest he hoped that the crimes which he should commit would be protected; amongst whom was Scaurus, of whose character and habits we have spoken above. For in our consul there were many good qualities of mind and body, all of which his avarice checked. He was patient of labour, of a keen perception, sufficiently prudent, not ignorant of war, and much upon his guard against dangers and surprises. But the legions were led through Italy to Rhegium, and thence to Sicily, and then from Sicily to Africa. Therefore Calpurnius, his supplies being in the first place provided, briskly entered Numidia, and took several prisoners and some cities by his arms.

29. But when Jugurtha began to tempt him by his messengers, and to show him the difficulty of the war he was carrying on, his mind corrupted by avarice was easily turned. But Scaurus is made the partner and assistant of all his plans; who, though at first, when most of his faction had been corrupted, he had most fiercely opposed the king, was nevertheless by the greatness of his bribes seduced from virtue and honesty to wickedness. But Jugurtha at first only bought a suspension of the war, thinking that he himself could in the mean time easily effect every thing at Rome by bribery or interest. When however he finds that Scaurus is an assistant in the business, being raised to the greatest hope of recovering peace, he determined to treat in person with them concerning all their agreements. But in the mean time, for the sake of security, Sextus the quæstor is sent

by the consul into a town belonging to Jugurtha, called Vacca, the pretext of which movement was the receipt of corn, which Calpurnius had openly enjoined upon the lieutenants, as now from a delay in the surrender a truce was observed. Therefore the king as he had appointed came to the camp, and having spoken a few words to the assembled council concerning the odium attached to his actions, and that he might be admitted to a surrender, he transacts the rest of the matters in private with Bestia and Scaurus ; and then on the following day their votes being asked as in a hurry he is admitted to a surrender. But as it had been commanded in the presence of the council, thirty elephants, some cattle, and many horses, with a small quantity of silver, are delivered up to the quæstor. Calpurnius sets out for Rome to take the votes at the election of magistrates, and peace was kept in Numidia and our army.

30. But when fame had divulged the transactions in Africa, and how they had been managed, many opinions were given concerning the consul's conduct in all places and companies at Rome. By the commons great indignation was expressed, and the senators were perplexed, and whether they should approve so great a crime or annul the consul's decree was by no means clear. And especially the power of Scaurus, because he was said to be the adviser and friend of Bestia, diverted them from what was just and honest. But Caius Memmius, concerning whose boldness of spirit and hatred to the power of the nobility we have before spoken, during the doubts and delay of the senate, exhorted the people by his harangues to punish the consul, and admonished them not to desert the state and their own liberty ; he brought forward many proud and cruel deeds of the nobility, and very intently by every possible means inflamed the minds of the common people.

But because at that time the eloquence of Memmius was illustrious and powerful at Rome, I have thought it fit to copy one oration out of so many of his, and especially I will write down those arguments which he discussed in the following strain in the assembly of the people after the return of Bestia.

31. "Many things discourage me from applying to you, O Romans, did not my zeal for the state prevail over every thing else ; power of the faction, your endurance, and want of rights ; and principally that innocence is attended with more danger than honour. For indeed I am ashamed to recount such things as these, how you have been a sport these fifteen years to the pride of a few ; how disgracefully, how unavenged your defenders have perished, that your minds have been corrupted by cowardice and sloth ; ye who not even now, when your enemies are in your power, arouse yourselves ; and even now ye fear those to whom it is right you should be a terror. But although these things are so, yet my mind forces me to withstand the power of the faction ; at least I will try the liberty that has been left me by my father ; but whether I shall do that in vain or with success is placed in your hands, Romans.

"Nor do I exhort you, as your ancestors have often done, to advance in arms against your injuries. There is no need of violence, no need of retiring from the town. It is absolutely necessary that they themselves will fall headlong by their own conduct. After Tiberius Gracchus was slain, who they said was seeking the sovereignty, heavy punishments were inflicted on the common people. After the murder of Caius Gracchus and Marcus Fulvius, a great many persons also of your rank were put to death in prison. To both these slaughters not the law but their pleasure put an end. But let the

attempt to restore their own privileges to the common people be granted to be an attempt at the government. Let whatever cannot be punished without the blood of the citizens be warrantably so done. In former years, though silent ye were indignant that the treasury should be robbed, that kings and free people should pay tribute to a few nobles, and that the greatest glory and the greatest riches should be in the possession of the same parties. But however they thought it but a little thing to have performed these crimes with impunity, and therefore at last your laws, your majesty, and all divine and human affairs were betrayed to your enemies. Nor are those who did these things ashamed or sorry ; but they strut in a stately manner before your eyes, showing off their priesthoods, their consulships, and some too their triumphs, just as if they had them as rewards and not plunder. Slaves bought with money do not endure the unjust commands of their masters ; and do you, Romans, born for empire endure slavery with contentment ? But who are these who have seized upon the state ? Men the most abandoned, of bloody hands, monstrous avarice, most mischievous, and the same too most proud ; to whom honour, shame, piety, and in short all honourable and dishonourable things are matters of traffic. Some of these have for their protection, the slaughter of tribunes of the commons, others, the contrivance of unjust punishments, and most, murder against you. Thus by how much each man is the worst, by so much is he the most secure. All fear they have transferred from their crimes to your cowardice, all of whom the desire of the same things, the hatred of the same things, and the fear of the same things, have united together. But this amongst good men is friendship, amongst bad men faction.

“ But if you held your liberty as dear as they are

inflamed for despotic power; both the state would neither, as it is, be laid waste, and your favours would be possessed by the best and not by the most audacious men. Your ancestors for the sake of gaining their rights, and establishing their authority, twice by means of retiring from the city in arms seized the Aventine Mount. And will not you struggle with all your might for that liberty which ye have received from them? And the more so, as it is a greater disgrace to lose what has been once obtained than never to have acquired it at all. Some one will say 'What opinion do you then give?' We must then punish them who have betrayed the state to the enemy, not by violence or by hand, (which is more unworthy that you should do, than that it should happen to them), but by prosecutions and the witness of Jugurtha himself. Who if he has surrendered himself will of course be obedient to your commands, but if he despise them, you will forsooth judge what kind of peace and submission that is by virtue of which there has fallen to Jugurtha impunity for his crimes, to a few great men immense riches, but to the republic losses and disgrace. Unless perhaps not even yet weariness of their tyranny possesses you, and those times rather than these are pleasing to you, when kingdoms, provinces, laws, rights, the courts, war and peace, and lastly all human and divine things were in the power of a few; but you, that is the Roman people, unconquered by your enemies, and the conquerors of all nations, thought it enough to retain your lives. For indeed which of you dared to refuse the yoke? And although I think it most dishonourable to have received an injury without resenting it, I would still contentedly suffer you to pardon those wicked men, since they are your fellow citizens, were not your compassion to be about to terminate in your destruction.

“For to have committed these crimes with impunity is both a little thing to them, so great is their mischief, unless the power of committing the same be taken from them for the future, and there will always remain for you a constant anxiety when you shall understand, that you must either be slaves or your liberty be maintained by force of arms. For what hope indeed is there of faith or concord? They wish to lord it over us, you to be free, they to do mischief, you to hinder it. Finally, they use your allies as enemies, your enemies as allies. Can there be any peace or friendship in minds so differently disposed? Wherefore I advise and exhort you not to let so great villany go unpunished. No robbery of the treasury has been committed, nor has money been violently forced from your allies; which things although they are grievous are nevertheless now from custom considered as nothing. The authority of the senate has been betrayed to a most bitter enemy, your empire has been betrayed, and at home and abroad your commonwealth has been offered for sale. And if these things be not sought into, except punishment be inflicted on the guilty, what will be left for us except to live slaves to those who have done these things? For to do with impunity whatever a man pleases that is to be a king. Nor do I exhort you, O Romans, now to wish that your citizens had done wickedly rather than justly, but by pardoning the bad not to go to destroy the good. Besides, in a government it is far better to be forgetful of a kindness than of an injury. The good man only becomes more idle when you overlook him, but the bad man becomes still worse. Besides, if injustice be done, you do not often require assistance against it.”

32. By often speaking these things and others of the same kind, Caius Memmius persuades the Roman people that Lucius Cassius, who was then prætor, should be sent

to Jugurtha, and having given him the public faith should bring him to Rome, in order that by the evidence of the king, the crimes of Scaurus and the rest, whom they accused of having received money, might be more easily exposed. Whilst these things are being done at Rome, they who had been left in Africa by Bestia, and had the command of the army, following the example of their commander, did many most wicked actions. There were some who, corrupted by bribes, returned Jugurtha his elephants; others sold him deserters; and some drove away plunder from places at peace with us. So great avarice had like a plague come over their minds. But Cassius the prætor, the bill having been carried by Caius Memmius, and all the nobility being in consternation, sets out to Jugurtha and persuades him much terrified, and from consciousness of his crimes distrusting his affairs, as he had surrendered himself to the Roman people, not to prefer to try their power to their clemency. Besides, he privately gives his own faith, which the other valued not less than the public faith; so excellent was the character of Cassius at that time.

33. Therefore Jugurtha comes with Cassius to Rome in as wretched a state as possible, contrary to the dignity of a prince. And although there was in himself great strength of mind, being encouraged by all by whose wickedness he had done all these crimes which I have above mentioned, he gains over Caius Bæbius the tribune of the people by a great bribe, by whose impudence he might be protected against all right and his crimes. But Caius Memmius having summoned an assembly (although the common people were hostile to the king, and some recommended that he should be thrown into prison, and others that, unless he declared his partners in villany, punishment should be taken upon him as an enemy,

according to the custom of their ancestors, consulting their honour rather than their passion), appeased their anger, and softened their minds ; and lastly declared, that as far as he was concerned the public faith should not be violated. Afterwards, when silence began, Jugurtha being brought before the assembly, he speaks, and recounts his actions at Rome and Numidia, and set forth his crimes towards his father and his brothers ; “ and although the Roman people knew by whose assistance and support he had done all these things, yet they wished to have them more clearly explained by himself ; if he unfolded the truth, there would be great hope remaining for him in the faith and clemency of the Roman people, but if he kept silence, he would be no assistance to his friends, but would destroy himself and his hopes.”

34. When Memmius had made an end of speaking, and Jugurtha was ordered to answer, Caius Bæbius, the tribune of the people, whom I have above said had been bribed, bids the king to be silent. And although the multitude which was present at the assembly, being excessively enraged, attempted to terrify him with clamour, angry looks and often with violence, and all other things which passion wishes to be displayed, yet his impudence prevailed. Thus the people, treated as a laughing stock, departed from the assembly. The spirits of Jugurtha, Bestia, and the others whom that investigation affected, are increased.

35. There was at that time at Rome a certain Numidian, by name Massiva, the son of Gulussa, and grandson of Masinissa ; who, because in the quarrel between the kings he had been against Jugurtha, when Cirta had been surrendered and Atherbal slain, had departed in flight out of Africa. Him, Spurius Albinus, who the next year after Bestia had held the consulship with Quintus Minu-

cus Rufus, persuades, since he was of the race of Masinissa, to load Jugurtha on account of his crimes with odium together with fear, and ask the kingdom of Numidia from the senate. The consul being greedy of carrying on the war, preferred that every thing should be excited rather than die away. To him, Numidia had fallen out as a province, to Minucius, Macedonia. Which things when Massiva began to agitate, and as Jugurtha had but little dependence on his friends, because one of them a consciousness of his crime, another evil report and fear of mind checked, he gives orders to Bomilcar his nearest relation and most trusty friend, to provide by bribery, as he had accomplished many things, assassins for Massiva, and if possible, privately, but if that should not be successful, by any means in their power to slay the Numidian. Bomilcar speedily executes the king's commands, and by means of men skilled in such work he watches his journeys and movements, and lastly his haunts and all his habits; and then when the time required, he lays his plot. One therefore of the number of those who were hired for his murder attacks Massiva too inconsiderately and kills him, but he himself being apprehended, many persons exhorting him, and especially Albinus the consul, gives evidence. Bomilcar is accused more agreeably to what was right and just than to the law of nations, as being a companion of him who had come to Rome on the public faith. But Jugurtha, although proved guilty of so great a crime, did not give over striving against the truth before he perceived that the odium of the action was beyond the reach of his interest and money. And therefore though in the first action he had given fifty of his friends as bail for Bomilcar's appearance, yet caring more for his kingdom than his sureties, he secretly sends Bomilcar to Spain, fearing lest a dread of obeying him should come

upon the rest of his subjects were punishment to be inflicted upon him. And he himself in a few days set out for the same place, being commanded by the senate to depart from Italy. But after he had departed out of Rome, he is reported, frequently looking back thither in silence, to have said at last, "That the city was to be sold, and would soon be ruined if it could find a purchaser."

36. In the mean time, Albinus, the war being renewed, hastens to transport into Africa provisions, pay, and all other things which would be of use to the soldiers ; and himself immediately set off, that before the election, which period was not far distant, he might put an end to the war by arms, surrender, or any way he could. But on the other hand, Jugurtha protracted every thing, made first one and then another cause for delay, promised a surrender, and then pretended alarm, retreated as the enemy pursued, and a little after, lest his own men should become distrustful, pursued : and thus by delay at one time of war, at another time of peace, he mocked the consul. And there were some who then thought that Albinus was not ignorant of the king's purpose, and did not believe that, after so great haste, the war was thus easily protracted so much by inactivity as by design.

37. But when, the time having slipped away, the day for the election arrived, Albinus, his brother Aulus being left as pro-prætor in the camp, departed for Rome. At that time the state of Rome was fiercely agitated by the seditions of the tribunes ; Publius Lucullus, and Lucius Annius, tribunes of the commons, their colleagues opposing them, struggled to renew their office, which dispute hindered the election for the whole year. By this delay Aulus, whom we have just said was left as pro-prætor in the camp, being put in hopes of either finishing the war or of exacting money from the king by the terror of his

army, draws his soldiers, in the month of January, out of their winter quarters upon an expedition, and came by great marches, in a severe winter, to the town of Suthul, where were the king's treasures. And although this place, both from the sharpness of the weather and the natural strength of its position, could neither be taken nor besieged, (for around the wall, built upon the extremity of a craggy mountain, the level ground, from being muddy, had formed a marsh, through the winter's rains), yet either for the sake of a feint, in order to increase the king's alarm, or blinded by desire of seizing the town for the treasures within, he began to form vineæ, to cast up a mound, and hasten on other things which would be necessary to his undertaking.

38. But Jugurtha, having found out the vanity and unskilfulness of the lieutenant, craftily increased his madness, and frequently sent submissive ambassadors ; and himself, as if on purpose to shun him, led his army through woody places and by-roads ; and lastly he induced Aulus by the hopes of a reward, having left Suthul, to follow him into a lonely part of the country as if he was flying before him, and thus their crimes would be more concealed. In the mean time by night and by day he was tampering with the army by means of crafty men. The centurions and leaders of troops of horse he partly corrupted to desert ; and others to quit their post when the signal was given. Which things when he had arranged according to his mind, in the dead of night on a sudden he surrounds the camp of Aulus with a large body of Numidians. The Roman soldiers, alarmed with the unaccustomed noise, began some of them to take up arms, others to hide themselves, some to encourage those who were frightened ; there was consternation in every place, the force of the enemy was great ; the heaven was obscured by the night

and clouds, and the danger was on every side ; lastly, it was uncertain whether it would be safe to fly or stay. But of the number of those whom I have just said had been bribed, one cohort of the Ligurians, with two troops of Thracian horse, and a few common soldiers deserted to the king, and a centurion of the first rank of the third legion gave the enemy opportunity of entering by that part of the fortification which he had received to defend, and by it the Numidians rushed in ; our men by a shameful flight and most of them having thrown away their arms, got safe to the nearest hill. Night and the plunder of the camp delayed the enemy from following up their victory. Then on the following day Jugurtha addresses Aulus at a conference. That although he held him with his army distressed both by hunger and the sword, yet that he being mindful of human affairs, would, if he would conclude a treaty with him, send them under the yoke without further violence ; but still he must depart from Numidia within ten days. And although these terms were hard and full of disgrace, yet because the men were changed by fear of death, peace was agreed as the king chose.

39. But when these things were known at Rome, fear and sorrow came upon the state. Some mourned for the glory of the empire, others unacquainted with warlike affairs feared for their liberty. All were enraged with Aulus, and especially those who had often been distinguished in war, because with arms in his hand he had sought safety rather by a disgrace than by his hand. Upon this the consul Albinus, fearing the odium from his brother's fault, and thereby danger, consulted the senate concerning this treaty, and yet in the mean time raised recruits for the army, summoned auxiliary forces from the allies and Latin name, and in short made speedy

preparations in every way. The senate, as it was fit, votes "that without their own consent and that of the people no treaty was competent to be concluded." The consul being prevented by the tribunes of the people from taking with him the troops which he had levied, sets off in a few days to Africa. For all the army, as had been settled, having been led out of Numidia was wintering in the province. After he arrived thither, (although he burned in his mind to pursue Jugurtha, and make atonement for the odium attached to his brother), yet when he understood the state of the soldiers, whom, over and above the defeat, he had corrupted by the destruction of all discipline, by licence and wantonness, he determined, as matters were, that he must do nothing.

40. In the mean time at Rome, Caius Mamilius Lime-tanus, a tribune of the people, proposes a bill to the people, that enquiry should be made concerning those by whose advice Jugurtha had despised the decrees of the senate, and who had received from him in their embassies or their commands money; who also had delivered up elephants and deserters; as also those who had made agreements with the enemy relating to war or peace. Since in part those who were conscious of their own guilt, and those again who feared the danger from the odium attached to their party, would not openly oppose the bill, but rather confessed that these things and others of the same kind were agreeable to them, yet secretly, by means of their friends, and especially by means of men of the Latin name and the Italian allies, they prepared obstacles. But it is incredible to say how very eager the commons were, and with what violence they passed the bill; more out of hatred to the nobility, against whom these evils were prepared, than from any care for the republic: so great was the fury in the parties. Wherefore, whilst all

the rest were struck with fear, Marcus Scaurus, who we have above said was Bestia's lieutenant, amidst the exultation of the commons, and the flight of his own party, and while the state was even still distracted, contrived that as by the Mamilian bill three commissioners should be appointed, he himself should be elected in that number. But as the commission was executed with violence and severity, according to vulgar report and the pleasure of the commons, as insolence from prosperity had often seized the nobility, so at this time it did the commons.

41. But the customs of the party of the commons, and the faction of the senate, and lastly of all bad acts, arose at Rome a few years before from idleness and plenty of those things which men consider of the first consequence. For before the destruction of Carthage the people and the Roman senate quietly and with moderation managed the state one with another, nor was there any contest for glory and power amongst the citizens; the fear of their enemies kept the state in good practices. But when this apprehension departed from their minds, then indeed those things which prosperity loves, namely wantonness and pride, came in. Thus when they had obtained the peace which they had longed for in adversity, it became more severe and harsh; for the nobility began to turn their power, and the people their liberty into licentiousness; every man began to steal, purloin, and plunder for himself. Thus every thing was stolen for these two parties: the state, which was in the middle between them, was torn to pieces. But the nobility was more powerful in their party; the power of the commons, being loosened and divided, was of little avail, by reason of their numbers; and the republic was managed both in peace and war according to the pleasure of a few. The treasury, the provinces, the magistracies, glory and triumphs were

in the power of the same persons. The people were oppressed by service in war, and want; the generals with a few friends made prize of all the spoils of the war: in the mean time the parents or the young children of the soldiers were driven away from their abodes, just as each happened to be a neighbour to him who was more powerful. Thus did avarice, in conjunction with power without bounds or moderation, attack, pollute, and lay waste all things; nor had it any thought or religion until it had ruined itself. For as soon as those of the nobility were found who preferred true glory to unjust power, the state became in an uproar, and civil discord, just as if there were a dissolution of the earth, began to arise.

42. For after Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, whose ancestors, in the Carthaginian and other wars, had made many additions to the state, began to assert the rights of the commons to liberty, and to expose the wickedness of the few, the nobility, being guilty and therefore alarmed, did at one time oppose the exertions of the Gracchi, by means of their allies and those of the Latin name, at another time by means of the Roman knights, whom the hope of a share in the plunder had separated from the commons.

They opposed the proceedings of the Gracchi; and first they killed with the sword Tiberius, and then a few years after Caius pursuing the same measures, the one a tribune of the commons, and the other a triumvir for the planting of colonies, together with Marcus Fulvius Flaccus; and indeed the mind of the Gracchi, from their desire of victory, was not sufficiently moderate. But it would be preferable to a good man to be overcome, than to conquer injustice by bad measures. Therefore the nobility, following up their victory according to their pleasure, put out of the way many men either by the sword or flight; and gained

for themselves for the future more dread than power, which thing has often destroyed great cities ; while one party wishes to conquer the other at any rate, and punish the conquered too severely. But should I attempt to descant concerning the fury of parties and all the actions of the state at large, and according to the importance of the subject, the time would fail me sooner than the matter, wherefore I return to my subject.

43. After the treaty of Aulus, and the disgraceful flight of our men, Metellus and Silanus, consuls elect, had divided the provinces between them, and Numidia had fallen to Metellus, an active man, and though hostile to the party of the people, yet of general good character and without spot. He, as soon as he entered upon his office, thinking that all other things concerned himself equally with his colleague, gives his mind to the war which he was to carry on. Therefore distrusting the old army he began to enrol soldiers, summon assistance from every quarter, and prepare arms, weapons, horses, and all other instruments of war ; besides provision in abundance, and in short all things, which in an irregular war and one destitute of many things, are wont to be of use. But to accomplish these things, the senate by their authority, the allies, and those of the Latin name, and foreign princes of their own accord, by sending assistance, and finally the whole city, exerted themselves with all their might, Therefore all things being prepared and arranged according to his mind, he sets out for Numidia, with great hope of the citizens, as well on account of his good qualities, as especially because he kept his mind unconquered against riches ; and before that time our affairs in Numidia had been ruined, and those of the enemy increased, by the avarice of our commanders.

44. But when he came to Africa, the troops of the pro-

consul Spurius Albinus are delivered up to him, slothful, unwarlike, and patient neither of danger nor labour, more ready with their tongue than their hand, plunderers from their allies, and themselves the prey of the enemies, and kept without any command or moderation. Thus more anxiety was caused to the new commander from their bad dispositions than assistance or good hope from the number of the soldiers. Metellus however determined (although the lateness of the election had lessened the time for summer operations, and he thought that the minds of the citizens were on the stretch from expectation of the event) not to begin the war before he had compelled the soldiers by the discipline of the ancients to work. For Albinus, dismayed by the defeat of his brother Aulus and the army, when he had determined not to stir out of the province for as long a period as there was for summer operations while he was in the command, for the most part kept the soldiers in stationary camps, except when the stench or want of forage compelled him to change his ground. But neither were the watches kept according to the military custom, and just as each man pleased he was absent from the standards. Sutlers mingled with the soldiers wandered about by day and night, and as they wandered they laid waste the fields, forced open the houses, and in opposition drove off their booty of cattle and slaves, and bartered them with merchants for imported wines and other such things. Besides, they sold the corn given them by the state, and bought bread every day. In short, whatever scandalous effects of idleness and luxury can either be narrated or imagined, were all of them in that army, and others besides.

45. But I find that Metellus in that difficulty, not less than in warlike affairs, was a great and wise man, with so great moderation did he keep the mean between a desire

of popularity and cruelty. For, in the first place, he removed all the supports of idleness, by an edict that no one should sell bread or any other dressed food in the camp ; that no sutlers should follow the army, nor any common soldier have in the camp or upon a march any servant or beast of burden. In other things he sparingly made an allowance. Moreover every day he moved his camp by cross marches, and, just as if the enemy were at hand, he surrounded it by a rampart and a ditch, set frequent watches, and himself with his lieutenants went the rounds : and also, when on the march, was present sometimes in the van, sometimes in the rear, and often in the centre, that no one might go out of his rank, and that they should march in full numbers with their standards, and that the soldier should carry his food and arms. Thus by prohibiting them from offences rather than by punishing them, he in a short time reformed the army.

46. In the mean time Jugurtha, when he had heard by messengers what Metellus was doing, and at the same time had been informed at Rome of his integrity, began to distrust his own affairs, and then at length endeavoured to make a true surrender. Therefore he sent ambassadors to the consul with entreaties, who were only to ask for the lives of himself and his children, and surrender every thing else to the Roman people. But it was already known to Metellus by experiments, that the Numidian race were faithless, of fickle dispositions, and fond of change. Therefore he tampers with the ambassadors separately one from the other, and by trying them by degrees, when he found them favourable to himself, he persuades them by promises to deliver up Jugurtha to him alive by all means, but if that plan should not succeed, dead. But openly he orders that a message, which would be agreeable to his desire, should be sent to the king. And

then he himself in a few days marches into Numidia with a vigorous and hostile army, where instead of any show of war, the cottages were full of men, the cattle and labourers in the fields, and the king's governors came to meet him from the towns and villages, ready to give him corn and convey provisions, and in short to do every thing that was commanded. But Metellus on that account did not march with a less careful army, but just as if the enemies were at hand, he reconnoitered every place far and wide, believed that these signs of surrender were only for a show, and examined the ground for ambuscades. Wherefore he himself with some light-armed cohorts, as well as with a chosen band of slingers and archers, was in the van. In the rear Caius Marius, his lieutenant, commanded with the cavalry. On both sides he had distributed the auxiliary cavalry to the tribunes of the legions and præfects of the cohorts, that the light armed troops being mixed with them might repulse the enemy's cavalry wherever they made their attack. For in Jugurtha there was so much subtlety, and so great an acquaintance with places and war, that it was considered uncertain whether he was more mischievous when absent or present, engaged in peace or war.

47. There was not far from that route by which Metellus was marching, a town of the Numidians by name Vacca ; a market for things to be sold, the most celebrated in the whole kingdom, where many men of the Italian race had been accustomed to inhabit and trade. Hither the consul sent a garrison, as well for the sake of trying the people, as well as to see if the position of the place would permit it ; besides, he ordered them to collect corn and other things which would be of use for the war, thinking, as the circumstances suggested, that the great number of merchants and the provisions would assist his

army, and would be a protection to the preparations already made. While these things were going on, Jugurtha at one time more anxiously sent submissive ambassadors, begged for peace, and gave up every thing but his own life and that of his children to Metellus. Whom just as the former ones the consul sends home, having been seduced to betray their master ; and he neither denies nor promises the peace to the king which he demanded, and amidst these delays waited for the promises of the ambassadors.

48. Jugurtha, (when he compared Metellus' sayings with his actions, and perceived that he himself was attacked by his own arts, as one to whom in words peace was proclaimed, but in reality there was a most difficult war, his largest city alienated from him, the country well known to the enemy, and the minds of his subjects tampered with), being compelled by the necessity of his affairs, determined to contend with arms. Therefore the route of the enemy being found out, and being led to hope for victory from the advantage their situation presented, he collects as large forces as he can of all kinds, and by means of some secret cross roads gets before Metellus' army. There was in that part of Numidia which Atherbal had upon the division possessed, a river rising in the south, by name Muthul, from which there was distant at about twenty miles a mountain, of table land, waste both by nature and as far as human cultivation went, but from the middle of it a hill as it were rose, reaching to a great height, covered with wild olives and myrtles, and other kinds of trees, which grow in a dry and sandy soil. But the plain in the middle was desert from want of water, all but those places near the river. These being planted with brushwood were crowded with cattle and inhabitants.

49. Therefore on this hill, which we have shown was extended across Metellus' march, Jugurtha sat down, with the line of his own men stretched out to a great length. Over the elephants and part of the infantry he placed Bomilcar, and instructs him what to do. He himself nearer the mountain draws up his men with all his cavalry and his picked infantry; and then going round the several troops and companies, he admonishes and beseeches them, that mindful of their valour and victory, they should defend themselves and their kingdom from the avarice of the Romans. That the struggle was about to be with those whom they had before sent when conquered under the yoke, that their general but not their spirit was changed. That all the things which became a commander were provided for his men, higher ground so that they might engage, skilful with unskilful, and not of smaller numbers with larger numbers, or ignorant with those who were better in warfare. Therefore they should be prepared and ready to attack the Romans when the signal was given; that that day would either confirm all their labours or victories, or be the beginning of the greatest calamities. Besides, he put them in mind of his kindness, man by man, just as he had rewarded any one for their gallant behaviour with riches or honour, and showed that person to the rest. Lastly, he roused one in one way, and another in another, by promising, threatening, or entreating them, according to the temper of each; whilst Metellus in the mean while, being not aware of the enemy, was beheld coming down from the mountain with his army. And at first in some doubt what that unusual appearance meant, (for the horses and Numidians were posted among the brushwood, but not sufficiently covered by reason of the lowness of the trees, but still as one could not be certain what they were, since they and their

military standards were concealed as well by the nature of the ground as by stratagem), but the ambuscade being in a short time discovered, he halted his army for a short time. Then the ranks being changed, he furnished the line with three bodies of reserve on the right wing which was nearest the enemies, distributes the slingers and archers amongst the companies, places all his cavalry on the wings, and having exhorted his soldiers in a few words suitably to the occasion, he leads them down into the plain, the front line being turned into the flank.

50. But when he perceives that the Numidians remained quiet, nor came down from the hill, fearing from the season of the year and the want of water lest the army should be distressed by thirst, he sent on Rutilius his lieutenant with some light-armed cohorts and a part of the cavalry to the river, to secure a place for his camp; thinking that the enemy by frequent onsets and attacks on the flank would retard his march; and as they had no confidence in their arms they would take advantage of the weariness and thirst of the soldiers. Then he himself, according to circumstances and the nature of the place, advanced slowly just as he had come down from the mountain; Marius he kept behind the principes, he himself was with the cavalry of the left wing, who were now become the front in the march. But Jugurtha, when he sees that the rear of Metellus had passed by his van, occupies the mountain with a guard of about two thousand men, where Marius had descended, that it might not by chance serve as a retreat to the enemies if they retreated, and afterwards as a strong hold; and then, the signal being suddenly given, he attacks the enemies. Some of the Numidians attack the rear, others make sallies on the left and right; with fierceness they are present and press on, and in every direction throw the ranks of the Romans

into confusion, of whom even those, who met the enemy with the most gallant spirit, being baffled by the unsteady mode of fighting, were themselves now wounded from a distance, nor had they any opportunity of striking them in return, or engaging in close fight. For the cavalry being before instructed by Jugurtha, whenever a troop of the Romans began to attack them, did not retreat in a mass, or to any one place, but dispersed one one way and another another, as much as possible. And so being superior in numbers, if they could not deter the enemy from pursuing them, they attacked them when divided in the rear or the flank. But if there were a hill more convenient for flight than were the fields, the horses of the Numidians being truly accustomed to such things easily escaped through the bushes, but the roughness and strangeness of the ground kept back our troops.

51. But the aspect of the whole of this affair was various, uncertain, dismal and miserable. Being separated from their comrades, some fled, others pursued the enemy. They neither regarded their standards nor ranks. Wherever danger seized each, there he made a stand and repelled the enemy. Arms, weapons, horses, men, enemies and citizens were jumbled together. Nothing was done under any certain plan or command, chance ruled every thing. Therefore much of the day had advanced when even then the event was still uncertain. Finally, all being worn out by labour and the heat, Metellus, when he sees the Numidians pressing on with less vigour, by degrees collects his soldiers together, restores his ranks, and posts four legionary cohorts against the enemies' infantry, a great part of whom being wearied had sat down on the rising ground. At the same time he intreated and exhorted his soldiers not to faint nor suffer the flying enemy to gain the victory. That they had neither any

camp nor any fortification whither retreating they might fly ; all their hopes were in their arms. But neither was Jugurtha in the mean while idle, but went round and exhorted his men to renew the battle, and he himself with some chosen men made every attempt, assisted his own men, pressed on the enemy when wavering, and those whom he knew were firm, by attacking them from a distance, he kept in check.

52. In this manner did these two commanders, most illustrious men, contend one with another, they themselves a match, but of different means. For on Metellus' side was the valour of his soldiers, but a disadvantageous position ; but to Jugurtha every thing except his soldiers was favourable. But at last the Romans, when they understand that they had neither any place of safety, nor that any opportunity was given them by the enemy of fighting, and it was now late in the day, march up the hill as it had been commanded them. Their ground being lost the Numidians were routed and put to flight, and some perished. The most of them their speed and the country strange to their enemies defended. In the mean time Bomilcar, who we before said was set over the elephants and part of the infantry by Jugurtha, when Rutilius had passed him, by degrees leads down his own men into the plain ; and whilst the lieutenant marches with speed to the river, whither he had been despatched, he unmolested draws up his troops, as the occasion demanded, nor neglects to reconnoitre what the enemy was every where doing. When he heard that Rutilius had now encamped and was secure in his mind, and at the same time that the noise from Jugurtha's flight was increasing, fearing lest the lieutenant when the matter was understood should be an assistance to his friends in distress, he extends more widely his line, which, as he distrusted the bravery of his

troops, he had drawn up closely in order to oppose the enemies' march ; and in that array he marches to the camp of Rutilius.

53. The Romans all of a sudden see a great quantity of dust, for the country being thick-set with shrubs hindered the view ; and at first they thought that the dry soil was agitated by the wind, but afterwards when they see that it remains constant, and approached nearer and nearer as the army moved, finding out the truth, they take up their arms with all speed, and draw themselves up before the camp, as it was commanded them. Then when they came nearer, the engagement is begun on both sides with a great shout, the Numidians only making a stand as long as they think there is any assistance in their elephants ; when they see them entangled with the boughs of the trees, and thus, from being dispersed, surrounded, they take to flight ; and most of them, having thrown away their arms, escape unhurt by the assistance of a hill, or the night which now came on. Four elephants were taken, all the rest, in number forty, were killed. But the Romans, although they were wearied by their march, the toil of encamping, and the battle, and were as well overjoyed, yet as Metellus delayed beyond their expectation, march to meet him in order and with precaution. For the wiles of the Numidians allowed no slackness or neglect. And first, the night being dark, when they were not far from one another ; by the noise, just as if enemies were approaching, the one party caused a panic and tumult to the other at the same time, and a fatal catastrophe would almost have taken place from the mistake, had not some cavalry, sent in advance by both parties, discovered the truth. Therefore instead of fear, joy on a sudden arose. The soldiers with joy call to each other, relate and hear their exploits ; whilst each man extols his own brave

deeds to the heavens. For such is the condition of mankind ; upon a victory it is permitted even to cowards to boast ; but ill success affects even the brave.

54. Metellus remaining in the same camp four days, recruits his wounded with care, rewards those who had distinguished themselves in the engagements according to the custom of warfare, praises them all in a speech, and returns them thanks, and exhorts them to have the like courage to what remained, which was trifling ; that they had now fought enough for victory, and their remaining labours would be for booty. Yet in the mean time he sent deserters and other fit persons to reconnoitre where Jugurtha was, or what he was planning ; whether he was attended by a few, or had an army ; and how, now that he was conquered, he was conducting himself. But he had betaken himself to a position covered by thickets and protected by nature, and there he was collecting an army larger indeed in the number of men, but dispirited and feeble, and experienced in agriculture and cattle rather than in war. This happened on this account, because no one of all the Numidians, except the royal cavalry, attends the king after a defeat. Whithersoever each man's mind leads him, thither they depart. Nor is this considered a disgrace in their warfare, such is the custom.

Therefore Metellus, when he sees that even then the king's mind was fierce, and that the war was renewed which could not be carried on except according to Jugurtha's pleasure ; moreover that he had an unequal contest with the enemy, and that they were defeated with less loss than his own men sustained by conquering them, determined that the war should not be carried on by battles nor in open fight, but in a different manner. Therefore he marches into the wealthiest parts of Numidia, lays waste the land, takes and burns many towns and

forts slightly fortified or without any garrison, and orders that all the males who were grown up should be slain, and every thing else become the booty of his soldiers. From this alarm many men were given as hostages to the Romans, corn and other things which would be useful were afforded in abundance, and wherever occasion required a garrison was placed. Which things alarmed the king much more than the battle unsuccessfully fought by his own men ; since he whose every hope rested in a retreat was compelled to pursue, and he who had been unable to defend his own towns was compelled to carry on war in places unfavourable to him. Yet in this difficulty he adopts the plan which seemed best, he commands his army to wait generally in the same parts, and he himself with some chosen cavalry pursues Metellus, and being concealed by nightly and difficult marches he unexpectedly attacks the Romans wandering about. Most of them fall unarmed, many are taken, and no one of them all escapes unwounded. And the Numidians, before any relief could be sent from the camp, retire as they were ordered to the next hills.

55. In the mean while great rejoicing had begun at Rome when Metellus' success was known, how he conducted himself and his army after the example of their ancestors, how he had by his valour, though on disadvantageous ground, still proved the conqueror, had gained possession of the enemies' land, and had compelled Jugurtha, elated by Aulus' idleness, to have his hopes of safety either in solitude or flight. Wherefore the senate on account of these happy exploits voted public thanksgivings to the immortal gods.

The state which was before full of fear, and anxious about the issue of the war, conducted itself with joy, and the fame of Metellus was spread abroad. Therefore he

the more eagerly strove for the victory, hastened on in every way, but still was careful not to become exposed to the enemy, and remembered that envy follows after glory. Thus the more renowned he was, the more anxious he became, nor ever after Jugurtha's ambuscade did he go on foraging expeditions with a dispersed force. Whenever he had need of corn or forage, the cohorts with all the cavalry kept guard, while he himself led part of the army, Marius the rest. But the country was wasted more by fire than by plundering. They used to pitch their camps in two places not far from one another. Whenever there was need of main force they all collected together, but in order that the enemies' flight and alarm might increase more widely, they acted separately. At that time Jugurtha followed through the hills, sought for the time and opportunity to attack them, and wherever he heard the enemy was coming, he destroyed the forage and springs of water, of which there was a scarcity. At one time he shewed himself to Metellus, at another to Marius, would attack the rear in the march, and immediately retire to the hills, and again threaten others and then others still, and neither gave them an opportunity for engaging, nor allowed them repose, but only kept back the enemy from their purpose.

56. The Roman general, when he sees himself harassed by these stratagems, and that no opportunity of fighting was offered him by the enemy, resolved to attack a great city, by name Zama, and in that neighbourhood where it was situated, the citadel of the kingdom; supposing, as indeed the case required, that Jugurtha would come to the assistance of his subjects in distress, and that there a battle would take place. But he, being informed by deserters of the things which were prepared, by great marches got thither before Metellus, and exhorts the

townsmen to defend their walls, some deserters being added as a garrison, which class was the most to be relied upon of all the king's troops, because they could not deceive him. He promises moreover, that he himself would arrive in due time with an army. Thus, affairs being arranged, he departs to places as concealed as possible, and a little after understands that Marius had been despatched from the army, then on a march, to Sicca with a few cohorts, to fetch corn, which was the first town of all that revolted from the king after his unfortunate fight. Thither he marches with some picked cavalry by night, and as the Romans were coming out of the town, he attacks them at the very gate. At the same time with a loud voice he exhorts the Siccensians to surround the cohorts in the rear ; that fortune had given them an opportunity of performing a noble deed. If they would do this, in future he himself in his kingdom, and they in their liberty, would pass their lives without fear. And had not Marius hastened to push forward and escape from the town, without doubt all or a large portion of the Siccensians would have changed sides ; with so great fickleness do the Numidians conduct themselves. But Jugurtha's soldiers, being for a little while encouraged by the king, when the enemy press them with greater vigour, having lost a few of their men, depart in flight.

57. Marius came to Zama. That town was situated in the plain, and fortified more by art than nature ; wanting in no necessary, and rich in arms and men. Therefore Metellus, things being prepared suitably to the time and place, surrounds all the walls with his army, and gives orders to his lieutenants where each should act ; and then upon a signal being given, a great shout is set up on all sides at once. Nor does this circumstance alarm the Numidians, without confusion they remain firm

and prepared, and a battle begins. The Romans each man according to his ability fight, some from a distance with bullets or stones, some retire, others take their places ; and at one time undermine, at another attack the wall with ladders, and are eager to come to close fight with the enemy. On the other hand, the townsmen roll stones on those nearest them, and hurl sharp stakes and lances, besides torches mingled with pitch and sulphur, all burning. But not even those who kept at a distance did their fear of mind sufficiently protect ; for javelins, sent from engines or the hand, wounded most of them ; and in equal danger but unequal reputation were the brave and cowardly.

58. Whilst the fight is thus going on at Zama, Jugurtha unexpectedly attacks the enemies' camp with a large force ; those who were as guards being careless, and expecting any thing rather than a battle, he breaks through the gate. But our men, being confounded by the sudden alarm, consult each man for himself, according to their natural dispositions. Some fled, others took up arms, and a great portion were wounded or slain. But of all that multitude not more than forty, mindful of the Roman name, forming themselves into a body, seized upon a place a little higher than the rest, nor could they be driven thence by the greatest strength, but threw back the weapons thrown at them from a distance, and as they were but few while the others were many, they were more successful in their aim ; and if the Numidians came nearer them, then they truly displayed their valour, and slew them with the greatest fierceness, routed them and put them to flight. In the mean while Metellus, when he was most actively carrying on the assault, heard the clamour and tumult of the enemy in his rear ; and then turning his horse he perceived the rout turned towards himself ; which circumstance showed that they were his own men.

Therefore with speed he sent all the cavalry to the camp, and directly afterwards Caius Marius with the cohorts of the allies, and with tears implores him by their friendship and the state, not to allow any disgrace to remain upon a victorious army, or the enemy to retreat unrevenged. He executes his commands in a short time. But Jugurtha, hindered by the rampart of the camp, when some were rushing headlong over the mound, and others by crowding in the narrow passages were hindering each other, having lost many men, betakes himself to his fortified positions. Metellus, his purpose not effected, when night came on, returns to the camp with his army.

59. Wherefore the next day, before they went out to the attack, he orders all the cavalry to patrol before the camp on that side by which the attack of the king would be ; the gates and parts adjoining he assigns to the tribunes ; and then he himself advances up to the town and makes an attack upon the wall as he had done the day before. In the mean time Jugurtha from his cover suddenly attacks our men ; those who had been placed nearest him are for a little while frightened and thrown into confusion, but the rest soon come to their assistance. Nor could the Numidians any longer have resisted, had not their infantry mixed with their horse done great execution in the battle. On whom they relying did not, as is generally the custom in a cavalry engagement, pursue and then retire, but charge with horses breast to breast, mingle themselves with, and confound our line, and so delivered up their enemies almost conquered to their own light infantry.

60. At the same time the fight was going on at Zama with great fierceness ; wherever each lieutenant or tribune commanded, there he most vigorously exerted himself, nor did any other person rest his hope on any one more than

on himself. And just in the same way did the townsmen act, attack the enemy, and make preparations in every place, and each party were more eager to attack the enemy than protect themselves. Shouts were mixed with encouragements, exultations, and groans; the noise of arms was also borne to the heavens, and weapons flew on both sides. But those who were defending the walls, whenever the enemies did even a little abate their attack, beheld with eagerness the battle of the horse. And you might see them, just according to Jugurtha's different fortunes, at one time glad, at another fearful. And just as they could be heard or be seen by their own men, some admonished them, others exhorted them or made signs with their hands, or made motions with their bodies, and moved hither and thither just as if avoiding or discharging weapons. And when this was known to Marius, for he commanded in that quarter, he designedly acted with less vigour, and feigned a fear for the result, and suffered the Numidians without disturbance to behold the engagement of the king. And thus when they were completely engaged in zeal for their friends, on a sudden he attacks the wall with great violence. And the soldiers having advanced upon ladders had almost gained the summit, when the townsmen flock to the place, and pour upon them stones, fire, and other weapons besides. Our men at first stood firm, but then when one or two ladders were broken, those who stood upon them were thrown down, the rest, just as each could, retreat, few unhurt, but the greater part covered with wounds. At last night put an end to the battle on both sides.

61. Metellus, when he sees that his attack is in vain, and that the town was not taken, nor that Jugurtha would fight except by stratagem, or on his own choice of ground, and that the summer was now over, marches

away from Zama, and places garrisons in those cities which had revolted from him and were sufficiently protected by nature or walls. But his army he places in the province which is nearest to Numidia for the sake of winter quarters. Yet he does not according to the custom of others give that time up to idleness and luxury; but since the war was but little advancing by arms, he lays snares for the king by means of his friends, and prepares to make use of their treachery instead of arms. Therefore he attacks with great promises Bomilcar, who had been at Rome with Jugurtha, and from thence, after having secretly given bail for the murder of Massiva, had evaded his trial; because he had the greatest opportunity of deceiving him by reason of his very great intimacy with him. And first he contrives that he should come to him in private for the sake of conversation, and then having given him his word, that if he delivered up Jugurtha alive or dead to him, it should be managed that the senate would grant him a pardon and all his possessions; he easily persuades the Numidian, who together with a perfidious disposition was then afraid, lest if peace should be concluded with the Romans he should by the articles of it be delivered up to punishment.

62. He, as soon as there was an opportunity, accosts Jugurtha full of perplexity, and lamenting his misfortunes, advises and beseeches him with tears to take at length measures for himself and children, and the nation of the Numidians, who had deserved so well at his hands. That they were conquered in every battle, their land laid waste, and many men taken and slain; that the strength of the kingdom was broken, that now both the valour of his soldiers and his fortune had been often enough tried; and that he must beware lest, while he is delaying, the Numidians should provide for their own safety. By these and

the like arguments he brings the king's mind to make a surrender. Ambassadors are sent to the commander, to say that Jugurtha would obey his commands, and without any conditions would deliver up himself and his kingdom to his honour. Metellus immediately orders all the men of senatorial rank to be summoned from their winter quarters, and holds a council with them and others whom he considered proper. Thus according to the custom of their ancestors, by a vote of the council, he by the ambassadors orders Jugurtha to deliver up two hundred thousand pounds of silver, all his elephants, and some horses and arms. And when these things were done without delay, he orders that all the deserters should be brought in chains. A great part of them, as was commanded, were brought, a few, as soon as the surrender began, fled to king Bocchus to Mauritania. Therefore Jugurtha, when he was deprived of his arms, his troops and money, and when he himself was summoned to Tisidium for further commands, began again to change his mind, and from a guilty conscience to fear his deserts. Lastly, many days being spent in doubt, when at one time from disgust at his misfortunes he considered any thing better than war, and sometimes when he reflected with himself how heavy a misfortune slavery would be after royalty, though many and great means of defence were lost all to no purpose, he begins the war afresh. And the senate at Rome, being consulted about the provinces, had voted Numidia to Metellus.

63. About the same time by chance the haruspex had told Caius Marius, when he was at Utica paying his devotions by means of victims to the gods, that great and wonderful prodigies were portended, and therefore he must do what he was revolving in his mind with full reliance on the gods, and should try as often as possible his for-

tune, for all things would turn out prosperously. But already before this a great desire for the consulship had seized him, to gain which, besides the antiquity of his family, he had other qualifications in abundance ; industry, honesty, great skill in warfare, a spirit great in war, but modest at home, the conqueror of covetousness and riches, and only greedy of glory. But he, born and brought up all his youth at Arpinum, where first of all his age could bear warfare, exercised himself in campaigns, not in Grecian eloquence nor town fopperies, and thus among these honourable pursuits his pure genius grew up in a short time. And therefore when first of all he sought the tribuneship of the soldiers from the people, though most men were ignorant of his face, being speedily made famous he is chosen by all the tribes. And then from that office he obtained one after another for himself, and always used so to behave himself in these dignities, that he was worthy of a greater one than he enjoyed. Yet such a man as he was up to that time, (for afterwards he was hurried on headlong by ambition) he durst not apply for the consulship. Even then the common people enjoyed the other offices, but the consulship the nobility handed down from one to another. No person of low birth was ever so illustrious or distinguished for his noble actions but he was considered unworthy of that honour, and as if a disgrace to it.

64. Wherefore when Marius sees that the words of the soothsayer tend to the same point as the desire of his mind exhorted him, he requests leave of absence from Metellus for the sake of canvassing. And though Metellus had virtue, glory, and other qualifications to be desired by the good in abundance, yet there was in him a haughty spirit and pride, the common bane of the nobility. Wherefore being at first startled by this unheard of thing, he wondered

at his meaning, and as if through friendship advised him, "not to begin so foolish an undertaking, nor carry his thoughts above his situation; all things were not to be coveted by all men; his present condition ought abundantly to please him; and lastly he should beware of seeking from the Roman people what might rightly be denied him." When he had spoken these and other words of the same kind, nor was the mind of Marius diverted, he answered "That as soon as it might be done consistently with the public interest he would grant what he asked." And afterwards he is said to have answered him, often making the same request, "that he need not be making haste to begone, that it would be quite time enough for him to seek the consulship with his son." He at that time served there in his father's tent, being about twenty years old. Which circumstance very much inflamed Marius, as well for the dignity which he desired, as against Metellus. And thus he proceeded according to the instigation of the worst counsellors, ambition and anger, nor abstained from any deed or word, provided only it were popular; kept the soldiers, over whom in their winter quarters he commanded, under a more relaxed discipline than before; and amongst the merchants, of whom there was a great multitude at Utica, talked disparagingly and at the same time haughtily concerning the war. That if half of the army were entrusted to him he would in a few days have Jugurtha in chains; that the war was purposely protracted by the general because he, a vain man and of royal pride, was too much pleased with command. All which things appeared to them the more plausible, because they had injured their property by the continuance of the war, and to a covetous mind no expedition seems enough.

65. There was besides in our army a certain Numidian, by name Gauda, the son of Mastanabal, and grandson of

Masinissa, whom Micipsa in his will had left second heir, a man worn out by disease, and therefore of a mind a little affected. To whom, when he asked that according to the privilege of kings he would place a chair next him, and afterwards for the sake of guard a troop of Roman horse, Metellus had refused both requests; the honour, because it was only theirs whom the Roman people saluted as kings; the body-guard because it would be an affront to them if Roman knights were handed over as guardsmen to a Numidian. This man thus annoyed Marius addresses, and exhorts him to seek for satisfaction, by his aid from the general, for these insults; he magnifies in a flattering speech this man who on account of his diseases was of weak intellect. "That he was a king, a great man, the grandson of Masinissa; if Jugurtha were taken or slain he would without delay have the kingdom of Numidia, and that this might thus quickly come to pass if he himself were sent as consul to the war." Wherefore both him, the Roman knights, the soldiers, and merchants, partly Marius, but most of them the hope of peace induces, to write to their friends at Rome in a severe manner against Metellus for his conduct of the war, and to demand Marius as their general. So the consulship was sought for him by many men with a most honourable interest. At that time also the common people, the nobility being defeated by the Mamilian law, was raising some of low birth, and thus all things went on favourably for Marius.

66. In the mean time Jugurtha, when foregoing his surrender he renews the war, was preparing every thing and hastening it on with great industry, was collecting an army, and gaining over to him those cities which had revolted from him, either by threats or holding out rewards, was fortifying his towns, and repairing or purchasing arms, weapons, and other things which he had lost in

hopes of peace, was enticing the Roman slaves, and tampering by money with those very persons who were in garrisons : in short he left nothing untried or at rest, but set all means to work. Therefore the inhabitants of Vacca, where Metellus at first had placed a garrison, when Jugurtha made his offer of peace, being wearied out by the solicitations of the king, nor indeed disaffected to him before—that is to say the principal men of the state form a conspiracy amongst themselves ; for the common people, as is generally the custom, and especially that of the Numidians, were of a fickle disposition, seditious and contentious, desirous of change, and enemies to peace and quietness. Then when matters were arranged among themselves, they make an appointment for the third day, as that being a festival and famous through the whole of Africa, gave occasion for mirth and jollity rather than alarm. But when the day came, they invite the centurions and tribunes of the soldiers, and the prefect himself of the town, Titus Turpilius Silanus, to their houses, one to one, and another to another ; all of them except Turpilius they murder during the feast, and then attack the soldiers dispersed about the town and unarmed, since it was on a day of this kind, and under no command. The common people does the same thing, part being induced by the nobility, part being excited by their eagerness for such things, to whom, though they knew not what they did or the design, the commotion itself and the novelty were quite agreeable enough.

67. The Roman soldiers upon this sudden alarm, being in great doubt and uncertainty what was the best thing for them to do, ran in great haste to the citadel of the town, where were the standards and shields, but a guard of the enemy and the gates before closed interrupted their flight ; besides this, women and children upon the tops of the

houses hurled down in concert stones and whatever else the place supplied. Thus this two-fold evil could neither be guarded against, nor could resistance be offered by the bravest against the weakest kind of foe. The courageous and the cowardly, the vigorous and the inactive, were all alike unavenged and slain. In this dreadful case, the Numidians being in the greatest fury, and the town being on every side closed; Turpilius the prefect was the only one out of all the Italians who escaped unhurt, whether this so happened by the pity of his host, or by agreement, or by chance, we are unable to ascertain. But however as a base life appeared better than an honest name in so great a calamity, he appears a bad and detestable man.

68. Metellus, when he hears of the deeds done at Vacca, departs for a short time out of sight in sorrow, and then when his anger and sorrow were mixed together, he hastens to go and revenge these injuries with the greatest diligence. The legion with which he wintered, and as many light-armed Numidian cavalry as he can, he draws out as soon as the sun set; and the next day about the third hour, he came to a certain plain, surrounded by ground a little loftier; there he informs the soldiers, who were wearied by the length of their march, and were now refusing to obey orders, that Vacca was not distant more than a thousand paces; that they ought to endure the remaining fatigue with patience, provided that they could take vengeance for their fellow citizens, men most brave but most unhappy. Moreover he kindly offers them the plunder of the place. Their minds being thus encouraged, he orders the cavalry to advance in the first line, and the infantry to follow after in as close array as possible, and to conceal their standards.

69. The Vaccensians, as soon as they perceived that the army was marching against them, supposing at first,

as was indeed the fact, that it was Metellus, shut their gates ; but then when they see that neither their lands are wasted, and that those who first came up were Numidian horsemen, believing on second thoughts that it was Jugurtha, go out to meet him with great joy. The horse and infantry, a signal being suddenly given, some made havoc of the mob that had poured out from the town, whilst others hastened to the gates, and others seized the towers ; their passion and their hopes of plunder were more powerful than their fatigue.

Thus the Vaccensians only enjoyed themselves for two days after their perfidy, their great and wealthy city was all either punished or made a prey. Turpilius, who we have already said was prefect of the town, and was the only one of all who escaped, being commanded by Metellus to make his defence, when he but poorly clears himself, being condemned and beaten with rods is beheaded ; for he was a citizen only with the privilege of Latium.

70. About the same time Bomilcar, by whose instigation Jugurtha had begun the surrender which through fear he relinquished, being suspected by the king, and himself suspicious of him, began to long for a change, and seek out some plan for his ruin, by day and by night wearied his mind ; and lastly in contriving every thing, he joins Nabdalsa to himself as an assistant, a nobleman, renowned for his great power, and beloved by his countrymen ; who generally commanded an army apart from the king, and was accustomed to execute every thing which remained to Jugurtha to do when fatigued, or engaged in more important matters, by which means glory and wealth were procured for himself. Wherefore by the plan of both, a day is fixed for their plot, but they decided that all other things, as circumstances required, should be prepared according to the exigency of the time. Nabdalsa set off

to the army, which according to his orders he had within the winter quarters of the Romans, that the land might not be ravaged by the enemy without revenge. When he, staggered at the greatness of the undertaking of the deed, did not arrive at the time appointed, and alarm prevented the execution ; Bomilcar at the same time, from a desire of accomplishing his designs, and fearful from the alarm of his accomplice, lest dropping his former plan he should adopt a new one, sends a letter to him by some faithful messengers, in which he upbraided the cowardice and sloth of the man, called the gods to witness by whom he had sworn, and advised him not to turn Metellus' rewards to their ruin, that Jugurtha's end was approaching ; but this only was being considered whether he was to perish by their resolution or that of Marius ; wherefore he ought to consider the matter well in his mind, whether he preferred rewards or a cruel death.

71. But when this letter was brought, Nabdalsa by chance being wearied from having exercised his body, was resting on his bed. Where, when Bomilcar's words were read, first anxiety, and then, as is wont in the case of a tired mind, sleep seized him. He had a certain Numidian, the manager of his business, faithful and well beloved, and acquainted with all his counsels, except these last ; who, when he heard that a letter was brought, supposing according to custom that there was need of his assistance or advice, entered into the tent, and while his master was sleeping takes the letter carelessly placed above his head on the pillow, and reads it through, and then with all speed, the plot being discovered, he hastens to the king. Nabdalsa awaking a little while after, when he neither found the letter, and heard from deserters all the matter how it had been done, first of all attempted to overtake the informer, but when that was in vain he goes to Jugurtha

for the purpose of appeasing him ; he tells what he himself had prepared to do, that he had been prevented by the treachery of his servant, and with tears conjures him by their friendship, by his former faithful services, not to suspect him of such a crime.

72. To these things the king, very differently to what were the feelings he had in his mind, gave a kind answer. Bomilcar and many others, whom he knew to be privy to these plots, being put to death, he suppressed his anger, for fear any insurrection should arise from this matter. From this time forward Jugurtha had no quiet day or night, nor put any confidence in any place, man, or time ; but feared alike citizens and enemies ; explored every thing around him, and grew pale at every noise, and first in one and then in another place, contrary to the majesty of a king, he took his rest by night ; sometimes awakening out of sleep would make a disturbance having snatched up his arms, and thus was tormented by alarm as if by madness.

73. Therefore Metellus, as soon as he understood by deserters concerning Bomilcar's fate, and the information given, again prepares every thing as if for a renewed war and makes all haste. Marius continuing to weary him for his discharge, and thinking him at the same time if unwilling and angry with him but of little service, he sends home. At Rome too the common people, the letters being known which were sent concerning Metellus and Marius, heard the accounts of both with minds well pleased. The nobility which was before an ornament to the general, was now the cause of odium ; but for the other, who was of a different race, his low birth procured popularity. But in the case of both, party spirit ruled more than their own good or bad qualities. Besides, some seditious magistrates inflamed the common people,

by accusing Metellus of capital crimes in all their harangues, and magnifying Marius' valour. In short, the common people were so excited, that the mechanics and all rustics, whose substance and credit lay in their daily labour, leaving their toils, constantly attended Marius, and esteemed their own necessities inferior to his honour. The nobility being thus alarmed, after many disturbances the consulship is given to an upstart, and afterwards the people being asked by Manlius Mancinus the tribune of the commons, whom they wished to carry on the war with Jugurtha? in a full assembly named Marius. But the senate a little before had voted Numidia to Metellus, but that was in vain.

74. At the same time Jugurtha, having lost his friends, most of whom he himself had slain, and the rest through fear had some of them fled to the Romans, others to king Bocchus ; when he was neither able to carry on the war without ministers, and thought it dangerous to try the faith of new friends after so much treachery from old ones, was tossed about in great doubt and uncertainty. Neither did any thing, nor any counsel, nor any man sufficiently please him ; he changed his marches and his præfects every day ; at one time he marched against the enemies, sometimes into deserts, often in flight, and then a little after in arms he placed his hopes ; and was uncertain whether to trust less the courage or the fidelity of his subjects. Thus whithersoever he turned his thoughts all things were against him. But amidst these delays Metellus suddenly shows himself with his army. The Numidians were prepared and drawn up as well as the shortness of time allowed : then the battle begun. In what part of the fight the king was, there the fight lasted for some time ; all his other soldiers were beaten and put to flight at the first attack. The Romans seized their standards and arms, and a small number of men. For in

almost all their battles, their heels rather than their arms secured the Numidians.

75. From this defeat Jugurtha, much more now despairing of his prospects, departed with some deserters and a part of his horse to the deserts, and then to Thala. That was a large and wealthy town, where were most of his treasures, and the ordinary education of his sons' infancy. And when these things were known to Metellus, although he knew that between Thala and the next river for the space of forty miles was a dry and desolate space, yet from a hope of finishing the war, if he could obtain that town, he prepares to surmount all difficulties, and to conquer even nature herself. Wherefore he orders all the beasts of burden to be eased of their burdens except of corn for ten days, and that only some skins and other vessels fit for water should be carried. Moreover he collects from the fields as many trained beasts as he can, and on them places vessels of every description, most of them of wood, collected from the cottages of the Numidians. Besides he commands the neighbours, who had surrendered themselves after the king's defeat to Metellus, to carry as much water as each could, and fixes a day and a place where they should meet him. He himself loads the beasts out of the river, which we before said, was the nearest water to the town.

Furnished in this way he arrives at Thala. Then when he had come to that place which he had appointed to the Numidians, and his camp was pitched and fortified, so great a quantity of water is said on a sudden to have fallen from heaven that it alone was sufficient and even more than sufficient for the army. Moreover their provisions were more plentiful than they expected, because the Numidians, as most men after a late submission, had carefully performed their duties. But the soldiers from

superstition used the rain water more than the other, and this circumstance added much to their courage, for they thought they were objects of care to the immortal gods. Then the next day, contrary to Jugurtha's expectation, they come to Thala. The townsmen, who had believed themselves protected by the roughness of the ground, astonished by so great and strange an event, did none the less idly prepare for war, and our men did the same.

76. But the king thinking that nothing was now impossible to Metellus, as a man who had by his industry conquered all arms, weapons, places, times, and lastly nature herself who rules over all things else, fled with his children and a great part of his money from the town by night, and never after remaining above one day or night in the same place, pretended that he was thus hasty on account of business; but he was afraid of treachery, which he thought he could avoid by his quick movements. For such designs were undertaken in leisure and by opportunity. But Metellus, when he sees the townsmen resolved upon battle, and at the same time the town fortified by art and position, surrounds the walls with a mound and ditch. Then he orders his men to push up their vineæ in such places as were best fit for them, and to erect a mound over them, and from towers placed over the mound to protect the work and workmen. In opposition to these things the townsmen made all haste and preparation, and in short nothing was left undone by both parties. At length the Romans before wearied out with much labour and fighting, within only forty days after they had arrived thither, made themselves masters of the town, but all the plunder was destroyed by deserters. For they as soon as they see that the wall was attacked by battering rams, and their prospects were ruined, carry together to the palace, gold and silver, and all other things which are considered

most precious, and there glutted with wine and feasting, they destroy with fire them and the palace and themselves ; and the punishments which if conquered they feared from the enemy these they themselves voluntarily paid. But just as Thala was taken, ambassadors came from the town Leptis to Metellus, intreating him to send a garrison and a præfect thither ; that one Hamilcar a noble but factious man was plotting for a revolution, against whom neither the authority of the magistrates nor the laws were of avail ; and if he did not despatch this assistance, they the Roman's allies, would be in the greatest danger. For the Leptitani at the very beginning of the war with Jugurtha had sent to the consul Bestia, and afterwards to Rome, to ask for their friendship and alliance ; and then when these requests were obtained, they had always remained good and faithful, and had done with spirit every thing commanded by Bestia, Albinus, and Metellus. Therefore they easily obtained from the general what they asked. Four cohorts of the Ligurians are sent thither, and Caius Annius as præfect.

77. That town was built by the Sidonians, who we have heard, when fugitives on account of civil discords, came by ships to those places ; but it is situated between the two Syrtes, to which the name is given from their nature ; For they are two bays almost in the extremity of Africa, unequal in size, but of like nature ; whereof the parts nearest the land are very deep, the rest, just as chance has made them, are both deep, and some of them shallow, especially in a storm ; for when the sea begins to be rough and to rage with the winds, the waves drag the mud and sand and large stones about, and thus the appearance of the places is changed together with the winds ; (and they are named Syrtes from this dragging.) The language of that town has been lately changed through

their intermarriages with the Numidians, but most things in their laws and living are Sidonian, which they retained so much the more easily, because they lived at some distance from the government of the king of Persia ; Between them and the populous part of Numidia were many and desolate tracts.

78. But since we are got into these parts through the affairs of the Leptitani, it does not seem amiss to mention the famous and wonderful exploit of two Carthaginians, of which thing the place has put us in mind. At the time the Carthaginians ruled over the greatest part of Africa the Cyrenians were both great and opulent. The country between was sandy and uniform, neither was there any river nor mountain to fix their boundaries, which thing kept them in a terrible and constant war one with another. After the legions on both sides and also fleets had been often routed and put to flight, and each party had a good deal injured the other, fearing lest some other state should presently attack both the conquered and conquerors when weary, they make an agreement under an armistice ; that on a certain day commissioners should set out from home, and in whatever place they should meet one another, that place should be the common boundary for each people. Therefore two brothers were sent from Carthage whose names were Philæni, who hastened to accomplish their journey. The Cyrenians proceeded more slowly ; whether this happened through laziness or accident I am not informed. But in those parts a storm is wont to detain travellers as effectually as by sea ; for when a wind having arisen in those parts which are level and barren of life heaves up the sand from the earth, this being driven about with great violence is wont to fill men's faces and eyes ; and thus, their view being hindered, it delays the journey. When the Cyrenians find themselves a little behind hand,

and fear punishment at home for their mismanagement, they accuse the Carthaginians of having left home before the time appointed, and make a disturbance about it, and in a word are desirous to do any thing rather than return defeated. But when the Carthaginians desired some other conditions that were only fair, the Greeks offer the Carthaginians this choice, either that they should be buried alive there where they demanded the boundaries of their nation should be, or that they themselves would advance on the same terms to whatever place they chose. The Philæni accepting the terms, gave themselves and their life to the state, and thus were buried alive. The Carthaginians consecrated altars there to the brothers the Philæni, and other honours were instituted to them at home. Now I return to my subject.

79. Jugurtha, when after the loss of Thala he considers nothing sufficiently secure against Metellus, having marched with a few attendants through vast deserts, came to the Gætulians, a fierce race of men, and uncultivated, and at that time unacquainted with the Roman name. He collects a great number of them together, and by degrees accustoms them to form their ranks, follow standards, observe orders, and also to execute other military duties. Besides (he brings to his own interest) the nearest relations of king Bocchus by great presents and greater promises, by whose assistance having prevailed upon the king, he induces him to take up arms against the Romans. This was for this reason more easy and ready, because Bocchus had at the commencement of this war sent ambassadors to Rome, to ask for alliance and friendship ; which thing, although most serviceable in a war just begun, a few men had prevented, blinded by avarice, whose custom it was to make a traffic of all things both honourable and dishonourable. Even already the daughter of Bocchus had

married Jugurtha. But this connexion is reckoned but slight amongst the Numidians and Moors, because all of them according to their means, marry each of them as many wives as possible, and some have ten, others more ; but the kings from their station more than any one else. Thus their mind is divided by the numbers, and regards none of them as a companion, but all are equally despised.

80. Wherefore the armies meet in a place appointed by the two kings ; there their faith being pledged to one another, Jugurtha inflames the mind of Bocchus by an harangue. " That the Romans were unjust, of immense avarice, and common enemies to them both. They had just the same cause for war with Bocchus as with himself and other nations, namely, the lust of empire, and therefore all kings' countries were their enemies. At that time he himself was, just before the Carthaginians, as also king Perses were, and in future every man, just as he became rich, would be reckoned hostile to the Romans." These and other things of the same kind having been uttered, they resolve on a march to the town of Cirta, because Metellus had placed there his plunder, captives, and baggage. Thus Jugurtha reckoned either, that if the city were taken, the attempt would be worth their while ; or that if the Roman came to the aid of his men, they must fight for it. For he now was craftily making all haste to break the peace between Bocchus and the Romans, lest by delaying he might prefer some other thing to war.

81. When the Roman general heard of the alliance of these two kings, he does not carelessly, nor as he had been accustomed when Jugurtha had been often defeated, give the enemy an opportunity of fighting in every place, but having pitched his camp not far from Cirta, he waits for the kings, thinking it better when he knew something of the Moors, since this was a new enemy that was added,

then to fight upon some advantage offered. In the mean time he is informed by letters from Rome, that Numidia is given as a province to Marius ; for he had already heard that he was made consul. By which things being affected beyond equity and decency, he could neither refrain his tears nor bridle his tongue ; and though a man illustrious in all other respects, he bore disappointment too impatiently. Which thing some imputed to pride, others thought that his good natural disposition was goaded by the insult put upon him ; many believed because the victory now gained was snatched out of his hands ; to me it seems plain enough that he was more tormented at Marius' promotion than the injury done to himself, nor that he would have borne it so heavily if the province that was taken from him had been given to some one else than Marius.

82. Therefore being prevented by this trouble, and because it seemed an act of folly to take care of another man's business at his own hazard, he sends ambassadors to Bocchus, to require him "not to become an enemy to the Roman people without reason ; that he had now a grand opportunity of entering into alliance with them, and of joining friendship, which would be better than war. And though he might put confidence in his own resources, yet he ought not to change certain things for uncertain ; that every war could easily be taken up, but was most difficult to be ended ; that its beginning and its end were not in the power of the same person ; that it was in the power of any one, even a coward, to begin war, but that it could only be laid down when the conquerors chose. Wherefore he ought to consult for himself and his kingdom, nor unite his own flourishing prospects with Jugurtha's ruined ones." To this the king makes a smooth reply : "That he himself was anxious for peace, but pitied Jugurtha's misfortune ; if the same opportunity were given him too,

every thing would be settled." Again the general sends messengers to answer Bocchus' demands. He partly agreed with some things, but refused others. In this way messengers being often sent backwards and forwards by both parties, the time was spun out and the war prolonged without any advance, according to Metellus' wish.

83. But Marius, as we have said above, being made consul by the people with very great zeal, when the people decreed to him Numidia as a province, already before this being hostile to the nobility began now to be very violent and furious against them. At one time he attacked them individually, at another time in a body; and constantly asserted that he had taken from them now conquered the consulship as a prey, as well as other things that were boasting as far as he was concerned, and annoying to them. In the mean time he considered those things, which were necessary for the war, his first care. He demanded levies for his legions, and summoned auxiliary forces from states, kings, and allies; and moreover summoned from Latium all the bravest men, most of them known by serving with him, and a few by reputation, and by persuading them he induced soldiers who had served their time to march with him. Nor did the senate although it was opposed to him venture to refuse him in any matter, but had even with alacrity decreed him a levy, because it was neither thought that the people was eager for the war, and thus Marius would lose either his opportunity for the war or the affections of the common people. But this thing was hoped for in vain. So great a desire of marching with Marius had seized most men, and every man had it in his mind that he would be enriched by plunder, and return home a conqueror, as well as other things of the same kind; and Marius had not a little excited them by his oration. For when, all things which he had demanded

having been voted him, he is desirous of enrolling soldiers ; for the sake of exhorting the people, and at the same time of attacking the nobility, as he was accustomed, he summoned an assembly of the people, and then spoke as follows :—

84. “ I know, O Romans, that most men do not seek for command at your hands by the same arts as they behave when they have obtained it. At first they are industrious, suppliant, and modest ; but afterwards they pass their life in idleness and pride : but to me the contrary course seems right. For by how much the whole state is of more importance than the consulship or prætorship, with so much the greater care ought it to be administered than these honours sought. Nor am I ignorant how much business caused by your very great kindness I am sustaining. To make preparations for war and at the same time to spare the treasury ; to force those to war whom you are unwilling to offend ; to provide every thing at home and abroad ; and to do these things amongst the envious, the thwarting, and factious is, O Romans, more difficult than can be imagined. Besides, if other men have failed, their ancient nobility, the brave deeds of their ancestors, the riches of their relations and friends, and many clientships, all these are present as a protection ; but all my hopes are placed in myself, which must be defended both by virtue and innocence, for every thing else is weak. And this I know, O Romans, that the faces of all are turned towards me, that the just and good are my friends, for my benefits are of advantage to the state, but that the nobility are seeking an opportunity for attacking me. Wherefore I must the more actively strive, that you may be neither deceived, and they may be disappointed. Thus have I lived to this age from my in-

fancy, to consider all labours and dangers customary things. Those good deeds which I used to do gratuitously before your favours, it is not my intention to neglect to do, O Romans, when I have received my reward. It is very difficult to those to keep within any bounds when in power who in their efforts to obtain it pretended to be honest men ; but to me who have spent all my life in the best practices, to act rightly has now from habit become nature. You have ordered me to wage war with Jugurtha, which thing the nobility has taken very ill. I beseech you consider in your own minds, whether this would be a better change if you should send any one of that crowd of nobility to this or on any other similar service, a man of an ancient family, and of many ancestral statues, and of no experience ; forsooth that he should, in a matter of so great importance, from his ignorance of every thing, tremble, be confused, and take some one from the people to counsel him in his business. Thus it generally happens that the very man whom you have appointed to command seeks some one else to command himself.

“ But I know some, O Romans, who after they were made consuls have begun to read the deeds of their ancestors and the military instructions of the Greeks. Absurd men ! For the management of an office is in point of time posterior to the being elected to it ; but with respect to the reality and qualifications it is prior to it. Compare me, O Romans, the first nobleman of my family, with the pride of those men. What they are accustomed to hear and read, of those things I have seen a part, and others I myself have achieved ; what they have learnt by books, I have learnt by service. Now do you yourselves judge, whether deeds or words are of more account. They despise the meanness of my birth, I their inactivity. To

me my fortune, to them their disgrace, is objected. Although I think the nature of all is the same and common, but that the bravest is the most noble.

“ And if now we could enquire from the fathers of Albinus or Bestia whether they would prefer that I or those men should be descended from them, what else do you think they would answer but that they should have desired the most deserving men as their children. But if they despise me with any reason, let them do the same by their ancestors, whose nobility as mine began from their virtue. They envy my advancement, let them then envy my labour, my integrity, and my dangers too, since I have obtained it by these means. But men corrupted with pride pass their life so as if they despise your honours, and yet so sue for them as if they had lived honourably. Truly they are mistaken who expect at the same time two things the most different, the pleasure of idleness and the rewards of virtue. And yet when they harangue before you or in the senate, they extol their ancestors in the greatest part of their oration, and think that by relating their brave actions they themselves are more famous, the contrary to which is the case. For by how much their lives are more illustrious, by so much is the sloth of these men more disgraceful. And indeed the case is thus—The glory of the ancients is as it were a light to their descendants, and suffers neither their good nor bad qualities to be concealed. It is of this thing I suffer the want, O Romans. But that which is of much more importance I can tell you, I mean my own actions. Now see how unreasonable they are. What they arrogate to themselves from the virtue of others, that they do not yield to me from my own ; forsooth because my nobility is of recent date, which it is certainly better to have created, than to have disgraced it when inherited.

“I indeed am not ignorant if they are now desirous to answer me, that they will have eloquent and set language in abundance. But from your very great kindness to me, since they are every where attacking me and you with reproaches, I have determined not to keep silence, lest any should construe my modesty into guilt. But myself indeed, according to the opinion of my mind, no speech can hurt, since if it be true it must be that it speaks well of me, and a false speech my life and behaviour will confute. But since your counsels are blamed, ye who have intrusted to me the greatest honour and the most important business, reflect over and over again whether you ought to repent. I cannot indeed for the sake of raising your confidence exhibit any images, triumphs, or consulships of my ancestors, but if the matter requires it I can show you spears, a banner, horse trappings, and other military rewards, and besides scars in front. These are my images, this my nobility, not left me like that of theirs by inheritance, but things which I have obtained by my unnumbered labours and dangers. My words are not polished—that I care for but little, my virtue itself sufficiently displays itself; they have need of those arts to conceal base deeds by their eloquence. Nor have I learnt Greek literature, and I little cared to learn that, since it is a thing which in point of virtue was of no assistance to the teachers. But I have been instructed in those things which are by far the best for the state, to strike the enemy, to keep guard, to fear nothing except an infamous character, to endure alike winter and summer, to sleep on the ground, and at the same time to endure want and toil. With these precepts will I exhort my soldiers, nor will I treat them with severity, myself with indulgence, nor will I make their toil my glory. This is useful, this the command fit for a citizen. For when you your-

self live in luxury, to confine the army to severe discipline, that is to be a tyrant not a general. By doing these and other such things have your ancestors made themselves and the state famous ; upon which our nobility relying, themselves nothing like them in behaviour, despise us their equals, and demand from you all their honours, not on the ground of their merit, but as if their due. But these most haughty men are very much mistaken. Their ancestors left them all they could, riches, images, their own illustrious memory, but not their virtue, nor could they ; that alone is neither given nor received.

“They say that I am rough and of uncultivated manners, because I can with little elegance set out an entertainment, nor have I a player, or a cook of higher price than my steward. Which things I am very well pleased to confess, O Romans, for I have thus learnt from my father and other illustrious men, that elegance belongs to women, toil to men, and that to all brave men there ought to be more glory than riches, and that arms and not furniture ought to be an honour. Let them then always do what pleases them, and what they reckon dear, let them love, drink, and where they had their youth there let them spend their old age, in banquets, abandoned to their appetite and the worst part of their body. Let them leave sweat and dust and such other things to us, to whom those things are more pleasant than feasts : but this is not so. For since those most base men have disgraced themselves by all manner of crimes, they are eager to take away the rewards of the good. Thus, contrary to all justice, luxury and sloth, the worst qualities do not at all stand in the way of those who have practised them, and are the ruin of the innocent republic. Now, since I have answered them as far as my character and not their crimes required, I will speak a few words concerning the state. First of all have

a good heart, O Romans, concerning Numidia, for you have removed all those things which have hitherto defended Jugurtha, avarice, ignorance, and pride. Then there is an army there acquainted with the ground, but by Hercules rather active than fortunate, for a great part of it has been destroyed by the avarice or rashness of its commanders. Wherefore do ye, whose age is fit for war, strive together with me, and take in hand the republic, nor let fear, either from the calamity of others or the pride of the commanders, seize any one. I myself on the march and in battle will be present among you, at the same time your adviser and the sharer in your danger ; I will treat myself and you in all things alike, and indeed by the help of the gods all things are ready, victory, plunder, praise ; and though they might be uncertain or at a distance, yet it becomes all good men to assist the state. Indeed no man was ever made immortal by sloth, nor did ever any father wish for his sons that they might never die, but rather that they might pass their lives as good and honest men. I would say more, O Romans, if words could give courage to cowards ; for to the valiant I think I have said enough."

85. After this speech had been delivered, when Marius sees the minds of the common people elated, he hastily loads his ships with provisions, pay, arms, and other necessities, and orders Aulus Manlius his lieutenant, to go along with them. He in the mean while enrolls soldiers, not according to the custom of the ancestors, nor out of the various classes, but just as each man's desire prompted him, and most of them the very lowest in rank. Some said that this was done for want of better men, others on account of the consul's desire for popularity, because he had been much cried up, and advanced by that class of people, and to a man seeking power the most needy is most useful, as one to whom neither his own interests are

any care since he has none at all, and all things appear honourable when accompanied with gain. Marius therefore with a number a little greater than what had been voted him, having set sail to Africa, arrives in a few days at Utica. The army is delivered up to him by Publius Rutilius the lieutenant. For Metellus had kept out of Marius' sight, that he might not see those things which his mind could not bear even when heard.

86. But the consul, having completed his legions and the auxiliary cohorts, sets out into a country both fruitful and full of plunder. All that was there taken he gives to the soldiers, and then attacks the forts and towns which were but little protected by nature and men, and fought several battles but inconsiderable ones, some in one place and some in another. In the mean time the fresh soldiers were present at the battle without any fear, they saw that the flying were taken or slain, that all the bravest were the safest, and that by arms their liberty, their country, their parents, and all other things were defended, and glory and riches obtained. Thus in a short time both the new and old soldiers united, and the value of all was made equal. But when the kings heard of Marius' arrival, they retired different ways into places of difficult access. This was Jugurtha's contrivance who hoped that the enemy might when straggling soon be attacked ; and that the Romans as most other men, when fear was removed, would be more loose and licentious.

87. Metellus in the mean time having gone to Rome, is received contrary to his expectations with very joyful feelings, being alike dear to the commons and senate, since envy had departed. But Marius with activity and prudence equally attended to his own affairs and those of the enemy, discovered what would be advantageous and what the reverse to both armies, watched the marches of the

kings, and prevented their designs and plots, and suffered no remissness in his own army, or security with the enemy. Therefore he had often when on his march attacked and routed both the Gætulians and Jugurtha, when driving away plunder from our allies, and had disarmed the king himself not far from the town of Cirta. But when he found that these things were only glorious and had nothing to do with finishing the war, he determined to surround all those cities which were either from their garrisons or situation most useful for the enemies and against himself, and thus Jugurtha would either be stripped of his garrisons, if he suffered these things, or would engage in battle. For Bocchus had often sent ambassadors to him to say that "he wished for the friendship of the Roman people, and that Marius need not fear any hostilities from him." Whether he pretended this that he might fall the heavier upon him by surprise, or whether from the fickleness of his disposition he was accustomed to vary war and peace, has not been sufficiently ascertained.

88. But the consul as he had planned, tried the towns and fortified castles, and partly by force and partly by fear, or showing them rewards he alienated them from the enemy. And at first he attempted but moderately sized places, thinking that Jugurtha to protect his subjects would come to a battle. But when he heard that he was at a great distance, and intent upon other matters, it seemed time to attack larger and more difficult places. There was in the midst of great deserts a town large and powerful, by name Capsa, whose founder was said to be Hercules the Libyan. Its citizens were untaxed by Jugurtha, under a mild government, and therefore they were accounted very faithful, and were fortified against the enemies not only by walls and arms, but even much more by the natural strength of the place. For except the parts next the town,

all the rest of the country was waste and uncultivated, destitute of water and infested with serpents, whose fierceness, like that of all wild beasts, was increased by their want of food ; besides the nature of serpents, itself deadly, is inflamed by thirst more than by any other thing. A very great desire of seizing this place took possession of Marius, as well on account of its convenience for the war, as also because the exploit seemed difficult, and Metellus had taken the town Thala with great glory, not very differently situated and fortified, except that at Thala there were some fountains not far from the walls. The Capsensians used only one spring and that within the town, flowing constantly, all the water they used besides being rain water. This scarcity both there and in all Africa, which lay at a distance from the sea without cultivation, was the more easily borne, because the Numidians for the most part fed upon milk and the flesh of wild beasts, and did not seek for salt or other excitements of their appetite. Their food was designed against hunger and thirst, not for lust and luxury.

89. Therefore the consul having examined every thing, I suppose in full reliance on the gods, for against so great difficulties he could not sufficiently provide by his own counsel, since he was even harassed by want of corn, as the Numidians are more anxious for grazing for their cattle than tillage, and whatever corn had been grown they had by the command of the king carried into fortified towns, but the land was parched, and at that time destitute of fruits, for it was the end of summer ; the consul, I say, does nevertheless, considering his means, provide pretty well. All the cattle which had been a prey for some days before he gives to be driven by the auxiliary horse ; orders Aulus Manlius his lieutenant to march with some light-armed cohorts to the town Laris, where he had

laid up the pay and provisions, and tells him that he himself would after a few days come thither on a plundering expedition. And his design being concealed he goes to the river Tana.

90. But in his march he daily distributed cattle to his army by centuries, as also by troops fairly, and took care that leathern bottles should be made out of the skins ; at the same time both to make the want of corn less, and to provide, whilst all were ignorant, things which would soon be of service ; and at last on the sixth day, when he arrived at the river, a great quantity of leathern bottles was made. There the camp being pitched with a slight fortification, he orders the soldiers to take food, and to be ready to march out as soon as the sun set, and having laid aside all their baggage to load themselves and their beasts of burden with water only. Then when it seemed time he marches from the camp, and having marched all night he encamped, and did the same the next night. Then on the third night, a good deal before day-light, he arrived at a hilly place, not more than a distance of two miles from Capsa, and there as secretly as he is able he remains with all his forces. But when the day began, and the Numidians fearing no danger had left the town in numbers, on a sudden he orders all his cavalry and with them the swiftest of his infantry to make for Capsa with all speed, and secure the gates, and then he himself quickly followed with all diligence, nor allowed the soldiers to plunder.

Which things when the citizens understood, their dangerous condition, great alarm, a part besides of the citizens being without the walls in the enemies' power, compelled them to make a surrender. But the town was burnt, the Numidians who were of full age were slain, all others sold, and the plunder divided among the soldiers.

This deed, contrary to the rights of war, was not done from any avarice or cruelty of the consul, but because the place was advantageous to Jugurtha, difficult of access for us, the race of inhabitants were fickle and faithless, and before this neither restrained by kindness or fear.

91. After Marius had accomplished so important an action without any loss to his own troops, though he was great and famous before, he now began to be esteemed greater and more illustrious, and all his performances though ill advised were placed to the account of his good conduct. The soldiers too being kept under a gentle command, and at the same time rich, extolled him to the skies. The Numidians feared him as more than mortal, and in a word all, both allies and enemies, believed that he had either a divine mind or that all things were signified to him by the intimation of the gods. But the consul, when this plan turned out well, marches to other towns and takes a few, when the Numidians resisted; the greater number deserted, because of the terrible treatment of the Capsensians, he destroys by fire, and all places are filled with grief and slaughter. Then having gained many places, and most of them without his army having lost any blood, he begins another plan, but not of the same cruelty as that against the Capsensians, but not less difficult. For not far from the river Mulucha, which separated the kingdoms of Jugurtha and Bocchus, there was in the midst of the country which was else level, a rocky mountain, with a small castle, sufficiently open, and raised to a great height, one very narrow approach being only left, for it was by nature steep on all sides, just as if by art and design. Which place, as there were the king's treasures, Marius attempts with all his might to take, but this plan was better effected by chance than good management. For in the castle there was a sufficiently large quantity of men,

and arms, and corn, as also a fountain of water. The place was rendered difficult by mounds, towers, and other works; the way up to the castle was very narrow, and the vineæ were pushed along in vain and with great danger. For when they had advanced a little they were destroyed by fire or stones; the soldiers could neither stand before the works on account of the steepness of the ground, nor could serve among the vineæ without danger; all the bravest either fell or were wounded, and the fear of the rest was increased.

92. But Marius, having spent many days and much trouble, was anxiously revolving in his mind whether he should give up his undertaking, since it was in vain, or wait for fortune, which he had often successfully used. Which things as he revolved in perplexity many days and nights, by chance a certain Ligurian, a common soldier of the auxiliary cohorts, having gone out of the camp to get water, observed some snails creeping among the stones, not far from that side of the castle which was opposite to the besiegers; of which snails when he had picked up one or two and then more, from a desire of gathering more, he by degrees advanced almost to the summit of the mountain; where when he found all quiet, after the custom of human curiosity to pry into what is unknown, he looks about him; and by chance in that place a great oak tree had grown among the rocks, by degrees at first slipping downwards, and then twisting and increasing to a great height, whither the nature of things that grow carries every thing. By the boughs of which at one time, and at another by the projecting rocks, the Ligurian climbing has a good view of the plain of the castle, because all the Numidians were down intent upon the besiegers. All things being examined which he thought would afterwards be of use, he returns by the

same way, not carelessly as he went up, but trying and viewing all things around. Therefore he hastily goes to Marius, tells him what he had done, and advises him to attack the castle on that side where he went up, and promises that he himself will be the leader of the way and the danger. Marius sends some of those who were present with the Ligurian to enquire into his proposals; who, just as was each man's temper, either pronounced the plan difficult or easy. The consul's mind however was a little roused. Therefore of the number of the horse and foot trumpeters he chooses in all five of the swiftest, and with them four centurions, to be for a guard, and commands all to obey the Ligurian, and appoints the next day for that plan.

93. But when it seemed the time according to what was fixed, all things being provided and prepared, he goes to the place. But those who commanded the centuries, being instructed by their leader had changed their arms and their dress, being naked as to their head and feet, that their sight and climbing over the rocks might be more easy. Upon their backs were their swords and shields, but these were of the Numidian kind made of skins, for the sake of lightness; as also at the same time that they might sound the less if they clashed. Therefore the Ligurian going first attached cords to the stones and any roots that through age were projecting, by which the soldiers supporting themselves could more easily ascend; sometimes when they were discouraged by the roughness of the road he raised them up with his hand, and when the ascent was a little more difficult than usual, he sent them one by one unarmed before him, and then followed himself with their arms; but places which appeared scarcely fit for climbing, he particularly examined, and by going up and down by the same way more than once, and de-

scending and then immediately advancing again, he added courage to the rest. Therefore being much and for a long time fatigued, they at length reach the castle, deserted on that side, because all the garrison as on other days were watching against the enemy. Marius, when he ascertained from the messengers what the Ligurian had done, though he had kept the Numidians all the day intent upon the battle, then however having exhorted his soldiers and he himself having sallied out beyond the vineæ, having made a testudo approached the wall, and at the same time from a distance terrified the enemy with his engines and archers and slingers. But the Numidians, having often before destroyed the Roman vineæ, and burnt them, did not defend themselves in the walls of the castle, but kept guard night and day before the wall, railed at the Romans and threw madness in the teeth of Marius; they threatened the slavery of Jugurtha also to our soldiers, and were emboldened by their success. In the mean time while all the Romans and enemies were intent on the battle with great fierceness on both sides, the one party contending for glory and dominion, the other for their lives, on a sudden the trumpets sounded on the rear, and at first sight women and boys who had gone out to see what was being done, began to fly, and then all together armed and unarmed, just as each man was nearest the wall. And when this happened, the more fiercely did the Romans press upon and rout the enemy, but only wounded the greater number, and then made their way over the bodies of the slain, and greedy of glory sought the wall with rivalry, nor did plunder delay any of them. Thus the rashness of Marius being accidentally corrected gained glory instead of blame.

94. But while this matter is being carried on, Lucius Sulla, the quæstor, came with a large body of horse to the

camp, who had been left at Rome to collect an army from Latium and the allies. But since the subject has put me in mind of so great a man, it seems fitting to speak in a few words of his origin and education. For neither in any other place shall we speak of the affairs of Lucius Sulla ; and Lucius Sisenna, having given us his history with the greatest accuracy and diligence of all who have written upon the subject, appears to me to have spoken with scarcely sufficient freedom. Sulla therefore was of a noble patrician family, but that family was almost extinct through the inactivity of his ancestors. In Greek and Latin learning he was alike excellently instructed, of a great soul, fond of pleasures but fonder of glory. He spent his leisure in luxury, but his pleasures never delayed him from business, except however that he might have consulted more for his honour in the case of his wife. He was eloquent, artful, and easy to be made one's friend, for dissimulation the deepness of his mind was incredible, he was prodigal of many things especially of money, and though he was the most fortunate of men before the civil war, yet his fortune was never beyond his industry, and many men doubted whether he was more brave or more fortunate ; for as to the things he did afterwards I am uncertain whether I shall not be ashamed or sorry to recount them.

95. Sulla therefore, as has been before said, when he came into Africa and to the camp of Marius with his cavalry, though he had been before unskilled and ignorant in the art of war, became in a short time the ablest of all. Besides, he used to accost the men with much urbanity, and granted favours to many at their own request, to others of his own accord, but was very unwilling himself to receive any, but those he did, he repaid with much more haste than a debt, while he himself never demanded

any return from others, but rather was desirous that as many as possible should be his debtors. He would joke or be serious with the humblest, was very often seen in the encampments, in the march and amidst the watches, nor did he in the mean time, as is the custom with bad ambition, lessen the character of the consul or any worthy man. He only would not suffer any one to be before him in counsel or action, and excelled most. By which behaviour and practice he became very dear to Marius and the soldiers.

96. But Jugurtha, when he had lost the town Capsa, and other places fortified and of great use to him, as well as much treasure, sends messengers to Bocchus to lead his army as soon as possible to Numidia, for the time for fighting had arrived. But when he heard that he demurred, and in doubt was weighing the chances of war and peace, he again, as he had done before, corrupts his nearest servants with bribes, and promises to the Moor himself a third part of Numidia if the Romans should either be driven out of Africa, or the war should be concluded with his own dominions entire. Bocchus tempted by that reward comes to Jugurtha with a large force. Thus the army of each being united, they attack Marius now marching to winter quarters, when scarcely a tenth part of the day remained; thinking that the night, which was now at hand, would be a protection to themselves if conquered, and if they were the conquerors it would be no impediment to them, since they were well acquainted with the ground, and that both these chances would on the other hand from the darkness be more adverse to the Romans. Therefore as soon as the consul knew from many persons concerning the arrival of the enemies, they themselves also were at hand, and before the army could either be drawn up or collect their baggage, in short before they

could receive any watchword or word of command, the Moorish and Gætulian cavalry, not in due array nor any regular method of fighting, but in companies, just as chance had brought each together, make an attack upon our men ; all of whom being suddenly frightened at this alarm, and yet mindful of their valour, either took up arms or defended others who were taking them up from the enemy. Some mounted their horses and met the enemy ; while the battle was fought more like an affair of robbers than a regular engagement ; horse and foot were mixed together without standards and ranks ; while the enemy struck down some and cut others to pieces, and surrounded in the rear many fighting most bravely against those in their front : and neither could their valour nor arms sufficiently protect them, since the enemies were more in number, and had surrounded them on all sides. But at last the Roman veterans as well as new soldiers, and therefore skilled in war, if the ground or chance had united any of them, formed round bodies, and thus being at the same time secured on all sides, and regularly drawn up, they sustained the attack of the enemy.

97. Nor in this so dangerous extremity was Marius daunted or more disheartened than before ; but with his own troops, which he had raised more from the bravest men in his army than of his friends, he flew about in every direction, and at one time relieved his own men when hard pressed, at another attacked with his band the enemies where they were the thickest, and provided for his soldiers since he could not command them all thus disturbed. And now the day was spent, when however the barbarians did not at all remit their attacks, and thinking, as the kings had told them, that night would be in their favour, they pressed on the more fiercely. Then Marius takes his measures as well as the circumstances would allow him,

and in order that there might be a place of retreat for his men, he seizes upon two hills the one near the other. On one of which not large enough for his camp there was a large fountain of water, the other was fit for encamping upon, because it was in the greater part of it lofty and steep, and wanted but little fortification. But he orders Sulla to pass the night with his cavalry around the water. He himself collects together his dispersed soldiers, the enemy being not less thrown into confusion, and then leads them all together upon a full march up the hill. Thus the kings, being obliged by the difficulty of the ground, are deterred from the battle, but they do not however allow their men to withdraw to any distance, but both the hills being surrounded by their forces, they encamped in a scattered manner. Then, having made many fires, the barbarians were enjoying themselves the greatest part of the night after their custom, were dancing and shouting with all their voices, and their leaders were themselves fierce, because not to fly was to behave as conquerors. But all these things were easy to be seen by the Romans from their being in darkness and on loftier ground, and gave them great confidence.

98. But Marius being very much encouraged by the ignorance of the enemy, commands silence to be kept as much as possible, and that not even the trumpets should sound as they were wont during the watches ; and then when light arrived, when the enemy was wearied out, and a little before buried in sleep, on a sudden the trumpets of the tributary states, the cohorts, troops, and legions all at once sounded their trumpets, the soldiers raised a clamour, and sallied out of the gates. The Moors and Gætulians being on a sudden awakened by this unexpected and terrible sound, could neither fly nor take up arms, nor in a word do or provide any thing. Thus a panic

like madness had seized all with this noise, clamour, tumult, and dread, no one assisting them, and our men pressing upon them. Lastly, all were routed and put to flight, most of the arms and military standards were taken, and more men were slain in that battle than in all the former ; for by sleep and unwonted fear their retreat was prevented.

99. Then Marius as he had begun marches to winter quarters, which he had determined to keep in the sea towns, because of the plenty of provisions ; nor however was he rendered slothful, or insolent by victory, but just as if he were in the sight of the enemy he marched in a square. Sulla was with the cavalry on the right, on the left Aulus Manlius was with the slingers and archers, and moreover he commanded the cohorts of the Ligurians ; he had placed the tribunes in the van and rear with some light-armed companies. Deserters who were but little valued, and best acquainted with the country, were to reconnoitre the enemies' march. At the same time the consul, as if no one had any command, provided every thing, was present with every one, and praised and blamed those who deserved it. He himself was armed, and intent himself compelled his soldiers to do the same, nor did he fortify his camp differently than he marched, but placed a guard before the camp out of the legions, and auxiliary cavalry before the camp, besides he placed others above the ramparts on the fortifications ; he himself went round the watches, not from any distrust of the future as to his orders, but that the labour of the soldiers if endured equally by the commander might be undergone with willingness on their parts. And indeed Marius at that and other times of the Jugurthine war, restrained the army more by shame than by punishment ; a thing which many said was done from a desire of popularity, others because

from his infancy he esteemed his accustomed severity and other things which others call miseries, a pleasure. The state however was as well and gloriously managed as if it had been by the severest discipline.

100. At length therefore on the fourth day, several swift scouts show themselves in various directions all at the same time not far from the town of Cirta, by which circumstance it is known that the enemy is approaching. But because the different parties as they returned were arriving from different quarters but all gave the same information ; the consul being uncertain how to draw up his army without altering the arrangement of his troops, being prepared against every thing, waits for the enemy in the same place. Thus Jugurtha's hope was disappointed, who had divided his forces into four parts, thinking that certainly some out of all would attack the enemy in the rear. In the mean time Sulla, whom the enemies first reached, having exhorted his men, by troops and with his horses as close as possible, himself and others attack the Moors ; the rest keeping their ground defended their bodies from javelins thrown at a distance, and if any came up to them they slew them.

While the cavalry are thus fighting, Bocchus with the infantry whom Volux his son had brought, and who had not been present at the former battle from delaying on their march, attacks the rear of the Roman army. Marius was then in the front, because Jugurtha was there pressing upon him with most of his troops. Then the Numidian, being aware of Bocchus' arrival, secretly wheels off with a few men to the infantry, and then exclaims in Latin, (for he had learnt to speak it in Numantia,) " that our men were fighting to no purpose, that a little before Marius had been slain by his own hand," and at the same time he shewed his sword stained with blood, which

he had blooded, having slain a foot soldier of ours actively enough. Which when the soldiers heard they are shocked, more by the horridness of the thing than any belief in the speaker, and at the same time the barbarians took courage and attacked the disheartened Romans more fiercely. And now they were but little from flying, when Sulla, having routed those men against whom he had marched, returning attacks the Moors on their flank. Bocchus is immediately put to flight. But Jugurtha, while he is desirous to support his own men, and secure the victory he had almost gained, being surrounded by the cavalry on the right, on the left while all were slain, by himself gets off and escapes amidst the darts of the enemy. And in the mean time Marius, having put the cavalry to flight, comes up to the assistance of his men, who he heard were routed. Finally, the enemies were now routed on all sides.

101. And now there was a dreadful spectacle in the wide fields ; some pursuing, others flying, some were killed, others taken, horses and men dashed down, and many having received wounds could neither fly nor be quiet, they at one time struggled to get up and immediately fell down again. Lastly, all places, as far as the eye could reach, were covered with weapons, arms, and corpses, and amongst them the ground was stained by blood. Afterwards, the consul being now clearly the conqueror, arrived at the town of Cirta, whither he had first purposed to go. Thither, five days after the barbarians had been again beaten, ambassadors came from Bocchus who in the king's name requested of Marius to send to him two men who were the most faithful to him ; that he wished to treat with them concerning his own interest and that of the Roman people. He immediately orders Lucius Sulla and Aulus Manlius to go to him. And although they went at the king's request, yet they determined to

speak first to the king, that they might change his mind if it were still obstinate, or if it were desirous of peace that they might the more encourage it. Sulla therefore, to whose eloquence and not to whose age Manlius had yielded, speaks a few words to this effect :—

“ King Bocchus, it is a great joy to us since the gods have advised you, so great a man, to prefer at length peace to war, and not to defile yourself, the best of all men, by uniting with Jugurtha, the worst man alive ; and at the same time that you are removing from us the painful necessity of punishing alike you who are merely under a mistake, and him that most vile wretch. Besides, it has always seemed better to the Roman people from their low origin to procure friends rather than slaves, and they have always thought it safer to rule over willing than coerced subjects. But to you no alliance can be more advantageous than ours ; first, because we are at a considerable distance, in which case there is the least chance of difference, and yet the good understanding is the same as if we were close at hand ; and in the next place, because we have subjects in abundance, but neither have we nor any one else enough friends. And I wish this course had seemed good to you at first. You would certainly by this time have received more good at the hands of the Roman people than you have suffered evil. But since fortune governs most human affairs, to whom forsooth it has seemed good to make trial both of our power and our favour, now since you are allowed by her, be quick, and as you have begun, go on. You have many and favourable opportunities, wherefore you may the more easily correct your former errors by your services. Lastly, lay this up in your breast, that the Roman people has never been outdone in acts of kindness. For what they can do in war you yourself know.”

To this Bocchus answered softly and civilly, and at the same time makes a brief excuse for his misconduct. "That he had not taken up arms from any hostile intention, but for the defence of his kingdom ; for that part of Numidia out of which he had driven Jugurtha was by right of war become his own, and he could not suffer it to be laid waste by Marius. Moreover, when he had previously sent ambassadors to Rome he had been refused their alliance, but he should decline mentioning old grievances, and then if leave were given him by Marius he would send ambassadors to the senate." Then when permission was given, the mind of the barbarian was changed by his friends, whom Jugurtha, being aware of the embassy of Sulla and Manlius, had corrupted with bribes.

102. Marius in the mean while, having placed his army in winter quarters, with some light cohorts and a body of cavalry, marches into desert places to besiege a tower of the king, in which Jugurtha had placed all the deserters as a garrison. Then Bocchus again luckily, either from reflecting upon what had happened to him in the two battles, or being advised by other friends whom Jugurtha had left uncorrupted, chose five out of all the number of his friends, whose fidelity was both well known and their abilities very great. These he orders to go as ambassadors to Marius, and then, if it was agreeable, to Rome, and gives them full powers to carry on the business, and to conclude the war on any terms.

They quickly depart to the winter quarters of the Romans, and then being surrounded on their march by some Gætulian robbers, spoiled and fearful, and in shameful plight they come to Sulla, whom the consul setting out upon his expedition had left as prætor. He did not treat them as fickle enemies as they deserved, but attentively

and generously. By which thing the barbarians believed the report of the Roman avarice to be false, and Sulla on account of his munificence to be their friend. For even then the practice of giving was unknown to many, nobody was thought generous, but only of good will ; and all presents were reckoned as kindness. Therefore they unfold to the quæstor the commands of Bocchus, and at the same time they beg him to be present as their supporter and adviser ; and they extol in their speech the forces, honesty, and greatness of their king, and other things which they believed would be either useful or means to gain favour. When Sulla had promised every thing, the ambassadors being instructed how they should address Marius and the senate, wait in the same place about forty days.

103. When Marius returns to Cirta, not having succeeded in the business as he had expected, being informed of the arrival of the ambassadors, he bids both them and Sulla come to him, and also Lucius Bellienus the prætor, from Utica, besides all others of senatorian rank from every quarter, with whom he examines the commands of Bocchus, in which was mentioned the leave for the ambassadors to go to Rome ; and in the mean while a truce was asked from the consul.

These things seemed good to Sulla and the majority ; a few give a fiercer opinion, in truth being ignorant of human affairs, which being fickle and uncertain are subject to adversity. But three of the Moors having obtained all their petitions set off to Rome with Cneius Octavius Rufus, who as quæstor had brought pay for the army, and two return to the king. From these Bocchus very gladly heard both other circumstances, as well as the kindness and zeal of Sulla. And at Rome the following answer is given to the ambassadors seeking for alliance and friend-

ship, after they had confessed that their king had erred, and had fallen by the wickedness of Jugurtha :—"The senate and the Roman people is accustomed to be mindful of any kindness or injury done to them ; but they forgive Bocchus' offence, since he is sorry for it, and alliance and friendship shall be given when he deserves them."

104. Which things being known, Bocchus asked Marius by means of a letter to send Sulla to him, under whose judgment they might consult concerning their common concerns. He was sent with a guard of horse and foot, and Balearian slingers ; besides some archers marched, and a Pelignian cohort with light arms, for the sake of quickly performing their journey ; nor would they be worse defended by these than other arms against the weapons of the enemies, as they are light. But on the march, about the fifth day, Volux, the son of Bocchus, on a sudden throws himself upon the wide fields with not more than a thousand horse, who marching loosely and disorderly caused Sulla and the rest to think that the number was greater than the reality, and that there was a danger of enemies. Every man therefore prepared himself, tried his arms and weapons, and was all readiness ; their fear was considerable, but their hope greater, as they were conquerors, and about to fight with those whom they had often conquered. In the mean time the cavalry, being sent out to reconnoitre, report that the matter was, as was the truth, pacific.

105. Volux coming up addresses the quæstor, "That he had been sent by his father Bocchus to meet them, as well as for an escort." Then they marched together that day and the following without any alarm. Afterwards when the camp was pitched, and it was evening, the Moor on a sudden trembling, and with a perplexed face, runs up to Sulla and says, "That he was informed by scouts

that Jugurtha was not far distant," and at the same time he asks and exhorts him to fly away with him by night secretly. He with a determined spirit declares that "he does not fear the Numidian so often defeated ; that he had sufficient confidence in the courage of his men ; and even though certain destruction awaited him, he would rather remain than, having betrayed those whom he commanded, save by a base flight his life which was very uncertain, and might perhaps shortly after perish by disease." But being advised by the same man to march by night he approves of that advice, and immediately gives orders that the soldiers should go to supper in the camp, and that very many fires should be lighted, and then that his men should march out in silence at the first watch. And all being now wearied by their night march, Sulla pitched his camp at sunrise, when the Moorish horse bring word that Jugurtha had already taken up his station at a distance of about two miles. When this was heard, then indeed a great fear came upon our men, and they believed they were betrayed by Volux, and surrounded by ambushes. And there were some who said that he ought to be punished by their hands, nor that so great a crime in him should be left unpunished.

106. But Sulla, though he was of the same opinion, yet keeps the Moor from receiving any injury, and exhorts his men "to have a good heart, that often before this time a few brave men had fought successfully against a multitude, by how much the less they spared themselves in the battle, by so much the safer they would be ; nor ought any one who had armed his hands to seek assistance from his unarmed feet when the danger was the greatest, and turn an undefended and blind body toward the enemy." Then he orders Volux to be gone out of the camp, as he had acted in a hostile way, invoking the supreme Jupiter

to be present as a witness of the crime and perfidy of Bocchus. He with tears implored him "not to believe those things, that nothing was done by deceit, but rather through Jugurtha's superior skill, to whom forsooth, as he was reconnoitering, their march had been communicated. But as he had neither any large force, and as all his hopes and resources depended upon his father, he thought he would not dare to do any thing openly, when the son himself was present as a witness. Wherefore it seemed the best thing to be done, to march openly through his camp, and that he himself, the Moors being either sent before or left in the same place, would go alone with Sulla." This proposal, as matters now were, was approved of; and having immediately set out, since they came upon him on a sudden, they pass safely, while Jugurtha was doubtful and uncertain what to do. Then in a few days they arrived whither they had purposed to go.

107. There a certain Numidian, by name Aspar, lived in great freedom and intimacy with Bocchus, having been despatched thither by Jugurtha, as soon as he had heard that Sulla had been sent for, as his ambassador and secretly to spy out Bocchus' designs; and besides him Dabar, the son of Massagrada, of the family of Masinissa, but by his mother's side of not equal rank, for her father was the son of a concubine. He was beloved and prized by the Moor on account of the many excellent qualities of his mind, whom Bocchus having found upon several occasions before to be faithful to the Romans immediately sends to Sulla to say, "That he was ready to do what the Roman people wished; that he might fix the day, place, and time for their interview; that he had full confidence in him, and that he need not fear Jugurtha's ambassador; that he had been sent for in order that their common

business might be more freely transacted, for otherwise it would have been impossible to have guarded against Jugurtha's schemes." But I find, that Bocchus rather according to the ill faith of his nation, than on account of those things which he asserted, kept the Romans and Numidians at the same time at bay with the hope of peace, and was accustomed for a long time to revolve in his mind whether to betray Jugurtha to the Romans or Sulla to him ; that his inclination pleaded against, his fear for, us.

108. Sulla therefore answered that " he would say but a few words in the presence of Aspar, the rest in private, or with no one, or but very few being present." At the same time he instructs him what answer is to be returned. After they had met according to agreement, he says that " he had arrived having been sent by the king to enquire from him whether he intended to maintain peace or war." Then the king as had been agreed, bids him return in ten days, for that nothing was even now determined, but he would give him an answer on that day. Then both departed to their camps. But when much of the night was spent, Sulla is secretly sent for by Bocchus, and on either side trusty interpreters alone are allowed to be present. Dabar also the messenger, a man of honour, swears secrecy to both by their desire, and the king immediately opens the conference.

109. " I never imagined that it would come to pass that I, the greatest king in this part of the world, and the richest of all those whom I know, should ever be indebted for a favour to a private person. And indeed, Sulla, before you were known to me, I have on my own accord granted assistance to many other persons imploring me, but I myself never stood in need of any. I am glad that

the case is altered, a thing which others are apt to regret. It was worth my while at length to stand in need of your friendship, than which I have nothing dearer in my soul. This therefore I can experience ; take, use my arms, men, money, in short whatever you have a mind for, and as long as you shall live, never think that I have repaid you your favour ; it will always be the same with me, and in a word you shall never desire any thing in vain if I know it. For as I think, it is less dishonourable for a king to be overcome in arms than in generosity. But as to your republic of which you have been sent hither as the protector, hear me in a few words. I have never made war against the Roman people, nor have ever wished it to be made, I only defended my territories by arms against an armed force. This I pass over, since it so pleases you ; carry on as you wish war with Jugurtha. I will not pass the river Mulucha which was the boundary between me and Micipsa, nor will I suffer Jugurtha to come within it. Moreover if you have any thing to ask worthy of me and yourselves, you shall not depart denied."

110. To this Sulla, as far as he was concerned, replied briefly and modestly, but at length about peace and public concerns. Finally, he explained to the king that, "since the senate and people of Rome had proved more powerful in arms, they would never consider what he promised as a favour ; that he must do something which would appear to be more for their interest than his own ; that this was very easy for him to do, since he had Jugurtha in his power, whom if he would deliver up to the Romans, then it would come to pass that there would be a great debt owed to him, and that friendship, alliance, and that part of Numidia which he was now demanding would forthwith come to him." The king at first refused over

and over to agree to this proposal, affirming that "there was between them relationship both by blood and marriage, as well as an alliance ; besides he feared lest if he acted a treacherous part he should turn away the affections of his subjects ; to whom Jugurtha was dear and the Romans odious." At last being often besought he is softened, and promises to do every thing according to Sulla's pleasure. But to carry on the pretence of peace, of which the Numidian worn out by war was very desirous, they make such arrangements as appear proper. And thus having arranged their plot they separate.

111. But the following day the king calls Aspar, Jugurtha's ambassador, and tells him that "he was informed by Sulla through Dabar, that the war might be ended on certain conditions ; wherefore he ought to learn his master's sentiments." He went full of joy to Jugurtha's camp. Then being instructed by him as to every thing, after a hasty march he returns eight days after to Bocchus, and tells him, that "Jugurtha is desirous of doing every thing which was ordered him ; but he durst not trust Marius, that peace had very often before been concluded with Roman commanders, but in vain. But Bocchus, if he wished to provide for them both, and that the peace should be confirmed, must do his best, that an interview should take place with all as if concerning peace, and there should betray Sulla to him. When he had so great a man in his power, then it would come to pass that a treaty would be made by the orders of the senate and Roman people, and that so noble a man, from no cowardice of his own but from serving the state, would not be left in the hands of the enemies."

112. These things the Moor revolving in his own mind for a long time at length agrees. But whether he delayed

through treachery or from good faith I cannot find out. But very generally the wills of princes, as they are violent so they are fickle and often contradictory. Then when time and place were agreed upon, they come to an interview as if concerning peace ; Bocchus at one time addressed Sulla, at another the ambassador of Jugurtha, treated them kindly, and promised both the same thing. They were both equally delighted and full of good hope. But on that night which was the next before the day appointed for the conference, the Moor having collected his friends and immediately having changed his mind, all others being sent away, is said to have reflected much with himself, with strange alterations of countenance, colour, motions of his body equally with his intentions, which things forsooth, though he was silent, he discovered by his countenance. However at last he orders Sulla to be sent for, and by his advice he lays a plot for the Numidian. Then when the day arrived, and it was told him that Jugurtha was not far distant, with a few friends and our quæstor, as if he went to meet him for the sake of doing him honour, he marches to a hill very open to the view of those who were lying in wait for him. Thither as had been appointed the Numidian came unarmed with many of his friends, and immediately upon a signal given they suddenly attack him on all sides at once from the ambush. The rest are slain, Jugurtha is delivered in chains to Sulla, and by him he was led to Marius.

113. About the same time a disastrous battle is fought by our generals Quintus Cæpio and Marcus Manlius against the Gauls. By which alarm all Italy was in trepidation. And both it, and from that time to our own recollection the Romans, have thus been of opinion, that all other wars were easy to their valour, but that they fought with the Gauls for their existence, not for glory.

But when the war in Numidia was ended, and it was reported that Jugurtha was being brought in chains to Rome, Marius though absent was made consul, and Gaul was assigned to him as his province, and he as consul triumphed with great glory on the kalends of January. From that time all the hopes and resources of the state depended upon him.

END OF THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

THE
FIRST ORATION OF CICERO

AGAINST
CATILINE.

THE ARGUMENT.

In the year before Christ 62, Lucius Sergius Catiline, a nobleman of Rome, of excellent endowments, both of body and mind, but depraved through ill habits, having been trained up under the usurper Sulla, and through his whole time practised in acts of great licentiousness, stood with many other competitors for the consulship, but was accused of corruption and missed it, Marcus Tullius Cicero and Caius Antonius being chosen; whereupon he entered into a dangerous conspiracy of raising a civil war, cutting off the principal of the senate, and firing the city. On the 6th and 7th of November, in the nights, were held secret councils with the chief conspirators, at the house of one M. Lecca, a Roman senator, where among other particulars concluded for the carrying on the design, two knights then present undertook early that morning, under colour of a visit, to kill Cicero in his bed; but he was immediately advised of this imminent danger from Q. Curius, by Fulvia, and that attempt frustrated. The same day, being the 8th of November, the consul calls a senate in the temple of Jupiter Stator; whither Catiline also came, either to palliate the matter or clear himself. Upon sight of whom, Cicero being stirred betwixt fear and anger, stood up and thus addressed him:—

How long, Catiline, will you abuse our patience? How long shall that fury of yours hector down even us too? To what bounds shall your unbridled audaciousness fly out? Has the night-guard of the palace nothing daunted you?

Nothing the watches about the city? Nothing the fears of the people? Nothing the concourse of all the honest men? Nothing this most protected place for holding the senate? Do the looks and faces of all these present nothing at all move you? Are not you aware that all your plots are discovered? Do you not see that your plot is now held firmly grasped by the knowledge of all here? What you resolved upon last night, what the night before, where you were, whom you summoned, what measures you took, who of us do you think knows not?

Oh what times! what a world do we live in! All this the senate understands, the consul sees, yet this fellow lives, lives? ay, and comes into the house, is present at the public council, marks with his eyes and designs each one of us for slaughter; mean while we, courageous men, think we have discharged our duty to the state if we can shun his weapons and fury. Long since, Catiline, thou shouldst have been led by the consul's order to execution; upon thine own head should have been turned that destruction which thou hast been so long contriving against all of us.

Could that most honourable person Pub. Scipio, the high priest, being then a private man, slay Tib. Gracchus when he did but lightly shake the state of the government; and shall we, consuls, tamely endure Catiline striving to lay the world desolate with fire and sword? To pass by those instances of an old date, that Quintus Servilius Ahala slew with his own hand Spurius Melius, when he was eager for a revolution. There has, there has been in times of old, such courage in the state that men of valour have restrained a dangerous citizen with more severe punishment than the most violent enemy. [We have now too made against you, Catiline, a strict and grave act of senate. The state wants not advice, nor this

house resolution. We, I must speak boldly, we consuls are wanting in the execution.

2. The senate once made a decree that Lucius Opimius, the consul, should see that the commonwealth suffered no hurt. One night did not pass over his head but Caius Gracchus, descended of a most noble father, grandfather, ancestors, was slain upon some suspicion of factiousness; Marcus Fulvius, a consular person, was slain and all his children. By a like act of senate the security of the state was committed to C. Marius and L. Valerius, the consuls. Did the sentence of the government delay the death of L. Saturninus, tribune of the commons, and C. Servilius, prætor, one day? [But we now have left the edge of authority to grow blunt these twenty days; for we have a like act of senate] but shut up in tables, as a sword lying in the scabbard; [by which act of senate, Catiline, you should have been immediately executed. You live, and that not to abandon, but to fortify your boldness. I desire my lords to be merciful, I desire withal not to be thought careless in so imminent dangers of the commonwealth. But now I begin to condemn myself of sloth and cowardliness.] There is a camp in Italy against the state, pitched at the entrance into Tuscany, the number of the enemy increases day by day; but the commander of that camp, and the general of those enemies, we see within the walls, nay, in the very senate, daily plotting some secret destruction against the state. If, Catiline, I should now order you to be apprehended, if to be executed, I think I should have reason to fear, ~~lest~~ all honest men should rather say this was done too late by me, than that any should say it was too cruelly done. But for a certain reason I am not yet induced to do that which long since should have been performed. Then will I take thee off when no one shall be found so impudent, so desperate, so like thyself, as not

to confess it justly done. As long as there shall be any one that dares to justify you, you shall live ; but so you shall live as now you do, hemmed in by me with many and strong guards, as not to be able to stir against the commonwealth. Many eyes, and ears too, as hitherto they have, shall spy and watch thee unconscious of it.

3. Catiline, what would you have more, if neither night can shroud in its darkness your wicked cabals, nor a private house within its walls the words of your conspiracy ? If all come to light, all break forth ? Change then that mind, be ruled by me, do not think of slaughter and burning, you are bound on all sides ; all your plots are as open as the day, which you may recollect with me.

Do you not remember that I said in the senate on the one and twentieth of October that on a certain day would be in arms (which day was to be the 25th of the same) Caius Manlius, the executioner and instrument of your treason ? Catiline, was I mistaken not only in a thing so great, so furious, so incredible ; but what is much more strange, in the very day ? I said in the house too, that you had fixed the 28th of the said month for the assassinating of the nobles, at what time many principal men of the state left the town, not so much for their own preservation as to suppress your designs. Can you deny on that very day that you were so penned up by my guard and diligence that you could not stir to prejudice the state, when you said, though the rest were gone, that you would be content with the slaughter of us who remained ? What when as you were confident you could surprise Præneste by an assault in the night, on the very first of November ? Did you observe that that colony was by my order secured with guards of mine to watch and ward there ? You act, you plot, you think nothing but what I not only hear of but see too, and plainly perceive.

4. Recall to memory with me the other night, and you will find that I am much more intently vigilant for the preservation than you for the destruction of the state. I say that the night before last you came among the scythemakers, I must speak plain, to the house of Marcus Lecca, that very many abettors of your fury and treachery had their meeting there: dare you deny it? Why do not you speak? I will make it appear if you deny it, for I see some here in the senate that were there with you. Immortal gods! whereabouts are we? What a government have we? In what city do we live? In this, this very place, are some of our own house, my lords, of this most venerable and grave council of all the world, who project my ruin and all yours, together with the destruction of this city, and therefore the empire of the world. These persons, I that am consul, behold, and take their votes about the government; and those that should have been cut off by the sword I do not yet wound with my word. You were then, Catiline, at Lecca's house that night: you divided Italy into posts; you appointed every one which way it was concluded he should march: you selected whom to leave at Rome, and whom to carry with yourself: you divided the several parts at which the city was to be fired: you gave assurance you would speedily leave the town, only you said one petty business, that is my being alive, stayed your journey. There two Roman knights were found, who would relieve you of that anxiety, and promised they would that very night, a little before day, kill me in my bed. I was informed of all this when your company was scarce broken up, and secured and guarded my house the better; kept out those that you sent in the morning to give me a visit, when they themselves had come whom before I told several noble persons would come at the very same time.

5. Which things being so, Catiline, hold on the course you have begun, get you out of town at length ; the gates are open ; take your journey. That army of Manlius does too long want you to head it, carry out all your accomplices with you, at least as many as may be ; rid the city, you will deliver me from much fear, so there be but a wall between you and me. You can no longer continue among us, I will not bear it, I will not suffer it, I will not endure it.] Great thanks are to be given to the immortal gods and particularly to Jupiter Stator, the most ancient guardian of this city, that we have so often already escaped this so villanous, so dreadful, and so dangerous a plague to the state ; the safety of the government must not any more be hazarded in one person. As long, Catiline, as you plotted against me, consul elect, I secured myself, not by any public guard, but by private diligence. When as at the last consular election, you would have slain me the consul and your other competitors in the field, I overcame your wicked attempts by the assistance and strength of my friends, without giving any alarm to the public ; in a word, as often as you struck at me I opposed you by mine own interest, although I saw that my destruction was involved in the great affliction of the state. But now with open face you strike at the whole state, you summon the temples of the immortal gods, the buildings of the city, the life of all the citizens in fine, all Italy to ruin and desolation. Wherefore, since I dare not execute that which was principally to be done and is proper to this empire, and the severity of our ancestors, I will do that which is more gentle as to censure, more useful as to the public safety. For if I should order you to be slain, the relics of your accomplices would still stick in the commonwealth ; but if you, which I frequently advise you to, shall march off, a great and

dangerous sink in the state of your comrades shall be drained out. What's the matter Catiline? Do you make any question to do that at my order, which you were before for doing of your own accord? The consul commands an enemy to go out of town, do you ask whether to banishment? I do not command you. But if you ask my counsel I advise you.

6. For what is there Catiline, which can any longer be pleasing to you in the city? wherein there is none, except that gang of desperate conspirators, but fears you; none but hates you. What mark of domestic baseness has not been branded upon your life? What private disgrace does not cling to you for your infamy? What lust has ever been refrained from your eyes? What from your hands? What villany from your whole body? To what young man, whom you had entangled by the allurements of your corrupting arts, have you not given either a weapon to boldness or an incentive to lust? For example, lately when by the death of your former wife you had made room for a second match, did you not by that villany add another incredible villany? which I pass by, and am well content should be wrapt up in silence, lest such an inhuman act should have been thought to have had being, or not to have been avenged under this government. I pass by the decay of your estate, all which you will find to hang over your head next quarter-day. I come to those points which do not concern the private reproach of your vices, nor the necessitousness and baseness of your family; but do more nearly relate unto the well-being of the state, and the life and safety of us all. Can the light of this world, or the breath of this air, be delightful to you Catiline, when as you know there is none of these present that is not informed that the day before new year's day, Lepidus and Tullus being consuls, you

wore arms in the assembly? that you had got a crew together to kill the consuls and nobles, that no good meaning of yours, nor yet fear, but the fortune of the commonwealth, hindered your treason and rage? But I pass by those things as neither obscure nor long since committed. How often would you have killed me when consul elect, how often since entered upon the consulship? How many passes of yours, so made that they seemed unavoidable, have I put by by a slight turn, and as the word is, with the motion of my body? You plot, you pursue, you contrive nothing but I have timely notice of it; and yet for all that you will never give over working and designing. How many, many times already has that dagger been wrung out of your hands? How often by some casualty dropped and slipped down? yet you cannot for your life be any longer without it; which dagger indeed is consecrated and dedicated by you with what rites I know not, but it must needs be stuck up for a monument in the consul's heart.

7. But now what life do you lead? for I will so deal with you, not as though I were moved with anger, as I have reason, but with compassion, as you have no reason to expect. You came even now into the senate, did any one of this great company of so many friends and acquaintance of yours do you any reverence? If such a thing as this never happened to any in the memory of man, do you wait for them to speak out their indignation, when you are already cast by the grand consent of their silence? Nay at your coming in those seats were left empty; farther, all the consular persons who had been oftentimes designed by you for slaughter, so soon as you sat down left that part of the seats bare and empty. How do you think that is to be taken by you? Truly if my servants were in such fear of me, as your fellow citizen

stand in dread of you, I should think fit to quit my house. Do not you so think it fit to quit the town? And if I saw myself under so great suspicion and displeasure of my countrymen, though unjustly, I would rather withdraw myself out of their sight, than be looked upon by their evil eyes. And do you, when by your conscience you must confess that the hatred of all is just and your due, make any scruple to avoid their sight and presence, whose very souls and hearts you break? Suppose your parents were afraid of, and fallen out with you, and you could by means recover their favour, I conceive you would retire from whither out of their sight. Now your country, which is the common parent of us all, hates and fears you, which judges of you, that for this great while you unnaturally contrive nothing but treason against her. Will you neither reverence her authority? nor be guided by her direction? or stand in fear of her power? Which Catiline thus addresses you, and in a manner thus silently bespeaks you. There has been no violence for these many years past, but by your abetment; no lewdness but by your contrivance; you are the only man that has carried away peace and unpunished the murders of many citizens; you, the vexation and plundering of the allies; you have not been only so great as to slight the laws and judgments, but also to pervert and break through them. Your former actions, although not to be borne with, yet I digested as well as I could; but now that I should be all over in a fright for your only sake, that at the least stir Catiline should be suspected; no plot can be thought to be laid against me that is free from your guilty participation is tolerable; wherefore withdraw and rid me of this terror; be true, that I may not be destroyed; if false, that I may length cease to fear.

8. If your country should thus address you, ought

she not to obtain it, although she could not force you?
 Nay further, you have offered yourself into custody; nay, you said, to clear you of all suspicion you would go dwell
 with Marcus Lepidus, by whom when not entertained you
 had the confidence to come to me, and desired that I would
 secure you in my house. When you had from me
 this answer, that I could by no means be safe with
 under the same roof, that am in great danger while
 are within the same city wall, you came to Q. Marcellus
 the prætor, by whom, when you were rejected, you
 up your lodging at your own comrade's, honest P. Marcellus.
 Him in good time you took, as one so
 careful to watch you, and very acute to discover you, who
 very courageous to punish you. But how far from
 thought from prison and irons who judges himself
 of restraint? Which things being so, Catiline, do you
 make any scruple, if you cannot be contented to die here
 to go into some foreign place, and to commit that life
 yours, conveyed away from many due and well deserved
 punishments, to exile and obscurity? Move it, say you
 in the house, for that is your request, and if the senate
 shall vote you must be banished, you say you will submit.
 I will not move it, which is a thing that goes much against
 my disposition; and yet I will so order the matter that
 you may so understand what these men think concerning
 you. Catiline, go out of the town, put the state out of
 fear, go your way into banishment, since you look for that
 word. What is the matter, Catiline? Do you mind
 Do you observe the silence of all present? They suffer me
 to speak thus, they are still. What, do you expect that
 should speak and give order, whose meaning you will
 know by their silence? But if I had said the same thing
 to this worthy young man, P. Sextius, if as much to N.
 Marcellus, a person of great valour, the senate would

you ?

may, immediately have laid violent hands, with all the reason in
[well] world, upon me that am now consul, in this very sanc-
y/ ery where we are. But for you, Catiline, since they
or n quiet, they give their consent ; since they are con-
e eated, they vote it ; being silent, they proclaim it. Not
may the senators, whose authority it seems is with you
may dear, their lives cheap, but also those Roman knights,
ve in of great honour and worth, and other valiant citizens,
w hich attend at the senate, whose number you might see,
no d perceive their affections, and just now plainly hear
so eir very words ; whose hands and weapons for this good
wh ile are hardly able to keep off from you. I can easily
and eavail upon them that if you leave these parts, which you
ort e plotting to ruin, they shall all wait upon you to the
y ty gates.

9. But wherefore do I talk ; can any thing daunt you ?
au you ever be reformed ? That you should ever think
f withdrawing ? Intend to leave the town ? O that the
mortal gods would give you such a frame of heart !
although I foresee, if you upon the terror of these words
ould take up a resolution to go to banishment, what a
orm of envy would hang over us ; though not so
uch at the present, whilst the memory of your villanies is
esh, but in after times. But it is worth this sacrifice, so
he calamity might be your own in particular, and severed
rom the dangers of the state. But that you should be
moved by your own vices, or fear the penalties of the laws,
or comply with the necessities of the times, is a thing not
o be expected : for, Catiline, you are none of those that
either shame should keep you back from baseness, fear
from hazard, or reason from rage. Wherefore, as I have
often said to you before, go your ways, and if you have a
mind to procure me ill-will, your enemy, as you give out,
go directly to banishment. I shall hardly endure the cen-

sures of men if you do so, scarcely stand under the load of that envy if you should go into banishment at the consul's order. But if you had rather be instrumental to my praise and glory, march out with your dangerous crew of traitors, go straightways to Manlius, stir up the discontented people, separate yourself from the well affected, make war upon your country, triumph in your unnatural robberies, that you may be thought not to have been cast out by me among strangers, but invited to your own. But why should I invite you, by whom I know some have been sent to wait for you in arms at Forum Aurelium? By whom I know a day is pitched upon and agreed with Manlius, by whom I know too that silver eagle, which I trust will turn to the ruin and confusion of you and all yours, which set in your house was the patron of all your treasons, is sent away? Can you want that image which you used to pray to when you went out upon a murder, from whose altars you often carried your polluted hand to the assassinating of citizens?

10. Go your ways at last, whither that unbridled and raging lust of yours has long time hurried you; for this occasion does not bring you any grief, but a kind of incredible pleasure; to such sottishness has nature bred, your will practised and fortune guided you. You never longed for, I do not say peace, but any war, save such as is unnatural. You have got a party of lewd persons, not only lost in their fortunes but also in their hopes. Here, what gratification will you enjoy? What joy will you triumph in? What pleasure will you riot in, when amidst so great a number of followers you will neither hear of an honest man nor see one? Those labours of yours that are so much cried up have been trained to this course of life. Lying perdu not only to watch a mistress but to take a purse; watchfulness both over the sleep of married men,

and the estates of the murdered. You have now an opportunity to shew that your brave hardiness in hunger, cold, and want of all things, wherewith you shall shortly find yourself pinched. I gained so much, what time I put you from the consulship, that you might rather as an exile attempt, than as consul effect, the ruin of the state ; and that the thing which was treasonably by you undertaken might rather bear the name of rebellion than war.

11. Now my lords, that I may remove and deprecate from me a kind of almost just complaint of my country, mark I beseech you attentively what I shall say, and treasure it up faithfully in your minds and memories ; for if my country, which is far dearer to me than my life, if all Italy, if the whole commonwealth should speak to me, Marcus Tullius, What do you mean ? Would you suffer him to go forth, that you know certainly to be a rebel ; that you see will be the general of the war ; that you are sensible is expected as chief captain in the enemies' camp ; having been the contriver of the treason, the chief of the conspiracy, the raiser of the slaves and desperate citizens ; that he may be thought not so much let out as set on the town by you ? Will not you command him to be put in irons, to be carried to execution, to be punished with death ? What I pray hinders ? Is it the old custom ? Nay, often in this state persons out of commission have punished dangerous citizens with death ; or the laws which have been made about the punishing free citizens of Rome ? But never in this state have those who revolted from the government preserved the privileges of freemen. Do you fear the envy of posterity ? Now you fairly requite the people of Rome, who has exalted you, a person known for yourself only, without any commendation of your ancestors, so early to the supreme magistracy, through all the degrees of subordinate offices, if for envy or the

fear of any danger you neglect the safety of your countrymen. But if there be any fear of envy, is the censure of severity and courage more greatly to be feared than that of baseness and cowardice? Do you not think, when Italy shall be made desolate with war, the cities plundered, the houses on fire, you shall then blaze amid the conflagration of odium? "

12. To these most sacred words of the state, and the minds of those men which are of the same judgment, I shall answer a word: Had I, my lords, judged it most expedient for Catiline to be put to death, I had not allowed that sword-player one hour's respite to live: for if those most eminent and honourable patriots were so far from polluting, that they rather ennobled themselves with the blood of Saturninus and the Gracchi, and Flaccus, and of many others in former times, truly I have no reason to fear, lest this murderer of the citizens being slain any envy should rise against me for the future. But if never so much did hang over me, yet I was always of this judgment, to think envy caused by virtue to be no envy but glory. [Although there are some in this house who either do not see what is imminent or dissemble what they see; who have cherished the hopes of Catiline by their remiss votes, and have confirmed the rising conspiracy by not believing it; whose authority many not only out of malice but of simplicity following, had I executed him, would have said it had been a cruel and tyrannical act. Now I understand, if he shall arrive whither he intends at the camp of Manlius, nobody will be so foolish as not to see it was a plot; nobody so bold as not to confess it. But if he singly was slain, I understand this plague of the state might be a little suppressed but not wholly extinguished. But if he fly out, and carry his party along with him, and gather to the same place all other desperate persons, from

every part gleaned up, not only will this so ripe a plague of the commonwealth be extinguished and rooted out, but also the very root and seeds of all mischief.]

13. For, my lords, this great while are we engaged in the danger and the snare of this conspiracy. But now, how it comes to pass I know not, the ripeness of all treasons, and old age, and boldness, is broken forth in the time of our consulship. [Now if this one person shall be taken off from so numerous a band of robbers, we shall be thought perhaps relieved of our cares and fears for some time; but the danger will stick close,] and will be locked up in the bowels and veins of the commonwealth; as oftentimes men in an acute sickness, when they are tossed with heat and fever, if they drink cold water, seem at first to be eased, then afterwards are more grievously and violently afflicted; so this disease in the body politic, being abated by his punishment, will return more violently if the rest be left alive. [Wherefore, my lords, let the malignants fall off; let them separate from the honest party; let them draw to a head: in a word, as I have often before said, let them be parted from us with a wall; let them leave plotting against the consul in his own house, investing the judges' bench, surrounding the senate with their swords, making fire-balls and brands to burn the city. Lastly, let it be written in every one's forehead how he stands affected to the state. I promise you this, my lords, there shall be so great diligence in us consuls, so much authority in you, so much courage in the Roman knights, so great consent in the honest party, that you may see the whole plot discovered, laid open, suppressed, and punished by the going out of Catiline. Under these omens, with the best interests of the state firmly established, and with ruin and confusion to yourself, and destruction to all those who have combined themselves with you in all villany and

treason, go your way to an unnatural and rebellious war. And thou, O Jupiter, who at the same dedication as the city wert consecrated by Romulus, whom we truly style the stay of this state and empire, repulse him and his accomplices from thy altars and other temples, from the houses and walls of the city, from the life and fortunes of all the citizens. And all the maligners of the well-affected, enemies of their country, plunderers of Italy, joined amongst themselves by a bond and wicked confederacy, confound both alive and dead with eternal punishment.

THE

SECOND ORATION OF CICERO

AGAINST CATILINE.

THE ARGUMENT.

Catiline having rushed out of the senate, went home, and there reflecting upon the unsuccessfulness of the morning attempt upon the person of the consul, and seeing the city strongly guarded, concluded it safest, with what forces he could suddenly and secretly carry with him, to gain the camp of Manlius; wherefore having given Lentulus and Cethegus in charge to strengthen his faction in the city, and at convenient season to put in execution the results of their former counsels, in order to a general insurrection, when he should draw up with his army towards the city: at midnight he left Rome with 300 in company. The next day, being the 9th of November, Cicero calls the people to the place of assembly, both to justify to them his challenging Catiline of conspiracy the day before, and to warn them to stand upon their guard against the confederates that still remain behind in the town.

At last, Romans, with much ado, have we either ex-

pelled, or let out, or else waited upon L. Catiline of himself, going out of the town, foaming with rage, breathing treason, unnaturally plotting the destruction of his country, and menacing you and this city with fire and sword. He is gone, he has left us, he is escaped, he is broken loose. No longer shall any mischief against this town be brewed by that monster and prodigy of men within the town. And without controversy have we prevailed against him, that was the only ring-leader of this intestine war ; for no longer now shall that dagger be busy amidst the ribs of us ; nor shall we be afraid in the field of Mars nor in the market-place, nor in the senate, nor, in a word, within our own doors. He has quitted his ground when he fled the city. We shall now openly wage a just war with a declared enemy, nobody contradicting ; undoubtedly we have destroyed and bravely vanquished him, when we forced him from private plotting into open rebellion. But that he did not carry out of the town, as he designed, the point of his sword stained in blood ; that he went and we alive ; that we have wrested the weapon out of his hand ; that he left behind him the citizens in safety, and the town standing ; with what mortification do you think he was at last vexed and harassed ? Now lies he grovelling on the ground, and is sensible that he is a lost and ruined man, and oftentimes turns his eyes back upon the city, which he laments has escaped his ravenous jaws, which city seems to me to look more cheerfully since it has disgorged and cast out so pestilent a fellow.

2. But if there be any now, as all of you ought to be, affected, that upon this very point, wherein my oration does boast and triumph, should greatly accuse me, because I did not rather apprehend so capital an enemy than let him escape ; it is not my fault, Romans, but the times ; L. Catiline should have been long since taken off and

visited with the heaviest punishment, and both the custom of our ancestors and the severity of this empire and the public interest required it at my hands. But how many think you were there who would not believe my information? How many that out of simplicity could not have thought it? How many that even justify it? How many, that out of corrupt principles, abetted it? Now if upon taking him off, I had judged all your danger removed, long since had I cut off L. Catiline, not only at the hazard of losing my reputation, but also my life. But when I plainly saw while the affair was still as yet not clearly ascertained by you all, if I had put him to death according to his demerit, it could not be that I might prosecute the accomplices, so much should I be maligned; I brought it to this pass that you might then openly fight, when you manifestly saw your enemy, which enemy, O Romans, how much you need fear, now he is gone, you may understand by this, that I am troubled at nothing more than that he went out of the city so ill attended; would he had carried along with him all his forces. He took me out Tongillus, that he was scandalously reported to have been fond of in his childhood; Publicius and Munatius, whose debts contracted in taverns, could bring no fear to the city. He left behind him men, how considerable! of what vast debts! how potent! how noble!

3. Therefore that army of his, in respect of our Gallic legions, and that levy, which Q. Metellus made in the Picenian and Gallic country, and these forces which are daily enlisted by us I greatly slight, an army made up of desperate old men, debauched farmers, and country beggars and bankrupts, men that had rather forfeit their recognizance than quit his colours, whom if I should shew not so much as the front of our army, but only the sheriff's

writ, they will drop down. These that I see flaunting in the market, nay, sitting in the senate, that are perfumed, that shine in purple, I had rather he had carried out his soldiers with him ; who if they tarry here, take notice, that not so much that army, as these, that depart from their colours, are to be feared by us ; and so much the more dangerous are they, because they are sensible that I am informed of their designs, and yet are not concerned at it. I see to whose share Apulia is allotted, who has Tuscany, who the Picenian country, who the Gallic, who it was that required he might carry on the massacring and firing the city. They perceive all their plots of the other night have been brought to me, I declared them yesterday in the senate, Catiline himself was put in a fright, fled upon it. What do these stay for ? I assure them they are much mistaken if they suppose my previous forbearance will always continue.

4. What I waited for I have already attained, that you might all be convinced there is a manifest plot against the state, unless perchance there be some that imagine men of Catiline's temper do not abet Catiline. There is no longer room for patience, the nature of affairs calls aloud for severity, yet I will still allow them one favour ; let them be gone, let them march out, let them not suffer poor Catiline to pine away for lack of them. I will shew them the way, he is gone the Aurelian road, if they make haste they will overtake him before night. Oh happy state if it could drain out the sink of the town ! In truth, upon the throwing off Catiline only, the state seems to me much eased and refreshed. For what mischief or villany could be devised or thought on which he did not contrive ? What sorcerer in all Italy, what gladiator, what highwayman, what assassin, what parricide, what forger of wills, what cheat, what whoremaster, what prodigal, what

adulterer, what infamous strumpet, what debaucher of youth, what debauched, what desperate person can be found but confesses that he lived in the greatest intimacy with Catiline? What murders have been committed these late years that he had not a hand in? What abominable rape but by his means? Now where was there ever such a spirit of inveigling youth as in him? who did himself love some unnaturally, was scandalously prostituted to the unnatural love of others; some he promised the enjoyment of their lust, others the death of their parents, not only by his instigation but by his assistance. And now how of a sudden has he got together a great many men of desperate fortunes, not only from the town, but from the country also? There is none in debt, either in Rome, or any corner of all Italy, that he has not drawn into his incredible confederacy in treason.

5. And that you may perceive his different inclinations in things of a contrary nature, there is none in the fencing school any thing forward to bold attempts, but confesses he was Catiline's intimate; none at all wanton or loose on the stage but gives out that he and Catiline were in a manner all one. And yet this very person, accustomed to the continual exercise of lewdness and crime, and to suffer cold, and hunger, and thirst, was cried up by these his companions as one hardy, when the aids of industry and instruments of virtue were wasted upon lust and violence. Now if his comrades would go along with him, if the scandalous crew of desperate persons would quit the town, happy should we be, the state blessed, and an immortal renown upon my consulship; for the lusts of men nowadays are grown immoderate, their attempts inhuman and insufferable; they think of nothing but massacres, but firing, but plundering; they have spent their own estates, they have squandered away their for-

tunes, their stock has been long since gone, now their credit begins to fail them ; yet they have the same pride as when they had a plentiful estate. Now if amidst their drinking and gaming they only regarded riot and whoring, they were indeed little hopeful, but yet tolerable. But who can endure this, that cowards should lay wait for the valiant, fools for the wise, sots for the sober, sluggards for the vigilant ? Who sit lolling at feasts, their brains swimming with wine, stomachs overcharged with meat, garlands on their heads, daubed with sweet ointment, weakened with whoring, and belch out in their talk the slaughter of the honest party and the firing of the city. Over whom I am confident there hangs some fate, and that the rewards long since due to their boldness, baseness, treachery, and lust are either clearly imminent or certainly approaching. Whom if my consulship, because it cannot cure, shall cut off, it will not prolong some small and inconsiderable time but many ages to the state ; for there is no nation which we need fear, no king that can wage war with the people of Rome. All foreign affairs are quietly settled by sea and land, through the valour of one man ; the war is within ; the danger locked within ; the enemy is within. We have a conflict with luxury, with madness, with treachery. I declare myself, gentlemen, general in this war. I take upon myself the hostility of these desperate persons. What can be healed, I will use all means to heal ; what must be cut off, I will not suffer to spread to the common destruction. Therefore either let them begone or let them be quiet ; or, if they do abide, both in the town and in the same mind, let them expect what they deserve.

6. But some there are, Romans, that say, Catiline was by me thrown into banishment. Which if I could effect by word of mouth, I would throw out them that

say so. For he, I'll warrant you, poor, timorous, and over-modest man, could not bear the reproof of the consul ; and as soon as commanded to go into banishment, obeyed and went. Nay yesterday, when I was almost murdered in my own house, I summoned a senate into Jupiter Stator's temple ; I informed the senators of the whole matter ; whither when Catiline was come, what senators spoke to him, who saluted him ? In a word, who looked upon him so well as a forlorn citizen and not rather as a most dangerous enemy ? Nay, the chief of that order left the part of the seat towards which he came naked and empty. Hereupon I, the severe consul, that throw men into banishment by one word, questioned Catiline, whether he had been present or no at the night meeting in M. Lecca's house ? when he, though bold enough, yet self-convinced, was at first silent ; I made further discovery, what he had done that night, what he had resolved upon for the next night, and informed him how the whole course of the war was projected by him. When as he stopped and stayed, I questioned him why he should make any demur of going thither whither he had long since intended, having I know sent before his arms, his axes, his rods, his trumpets, his ensigus, and that silver eagle to which he had set up at home a chapel for his treacheries. Did I throw him into banishment that I saw was already entered upon a war ? For that Captain Manlius I warrant you, that has encamped in the Fæsulian country, proclaimed war against the Roman people upon his own account, and that camp does not now wait for Catiline to be their general ; and now being thrown into banishment, he will turn aside to Marseilles, and not into this camp.

7. O unhappy condition, not only of steering, but of saving the state. Now, if L. Catiline hemmed in, and

disabled by my counsels, labours, and dangers, should take a sudden fright, alter his purpose, desert his party, abandon his resolution of raising war, from this career of treason and rebellion should turn his course into flight and exile, he will not be reported to have been by me disarmed of the weapons of his insolence, nor astonished and affrighted by my diligence, nor put besides his hopes and endeavours ; but uncondemned, innocent man, to have been thrown into banishment by the consul, with foul and threatening words ; and some will have it to be thought, if he shall do so, not that he was guilty but unfortunate, not that I was a most diligent magistrate, but a most cruel tyrant. I can well afford, Romans, to bear the storm of this false and unreasonable aspersion, so the danger of this dreadful and unnatural war be diverted from you ; let it, since they will have it so, be said that he was thrown out by me, so he do but go into banishment, but take my word he will not do so. O Romans ! I shall never wish of the immortal gods for the abating any hard opinion of me, that you should hear L. Catiline is at the head of the enemies' army, and marching in the field, yet within three days you will hear it, and I much more fear the other thing, lest the time may once come, wherein it prove a greater fault that I let him go out, than that I threw him out. But there being some that say he is persecuted when he went of himself, what would those men have said if he had been executed ? Although these very men that give out that Catiline is gone to Marseilles do not so much complain, as fear that it is so. None of them has so much tenderness for him, but had rather that he should go to Manlius than to those of Marseilles. But in truth, had he never before designed what he now goes about, yet he had rather be killed in rebellion than live in banishment. But now, when as nothing has yet befallen him, besides his own

desire and design, but that he went out of Rome and we alive ; let us rather wish he would than complain that he does go into banishment.

8. But why are we thus long discoursing of one enemy ; and that enemy that now declares himself so, and whom I no longer fear, because there is, as I always desired, a wall between us ? we speak nothing yet of those that dissemble, that tarry behind at Rome, that keep amongst us. Whom I do not so much endeavour to punish, if it could any way be prevented, as to cure and reconcile them to the state. Nor do I see why that should not be possible if they take my counsel ; for I will relate to you, Romans, of what sort of men those forces are made up, then will I apply to the particulars the remedy of my advice and persuasion if I can give any. One rank of them is such as though they have great debts, yet have greater estates, out of love to which they can by no means afford to get themselves clear. The appearance of these men has the fairest shew, for they are substantial men, but their intention and pretence is most impudent. Should you be plentiful and splendid in lands, in houses, in plate, in retinue, and in all accommodations, and do you hesitate to diminish some of your estate and to purchase a good reputation ? Why, what do you look for ? For war ? What ? do you then think in the common desolation that your possessions shall be sacred and untouched ? For a bill to cancel old debts ? They are much mistaken that look for that from Catiline ; I will help them to such a bill, but it must be a bill of sale. For they who have estates can be preserved by no other means, which if they would have done sooner, neither (which is the most foolish thing in the world) tire out their rents with paying interest ; we might have had more able and honest citizens of them. But such men as these I think not very much to be feared,

because they may either be reclaimed, or if they shall continue in the same mind, they seem rather to me such as will join their prayers than their arms against the state.

9. Another sort is of those, that though they are deeply in debt, yet they affect tyranny, they would be princes ; those places which they cannot look for if the state continue in peace, if it be disturbed they hope they shall attain. Who should have this advice given them, the self-same, as all the rest, to despair of obtaining that which they attempt. First of all, that I myself am vigilant, active, provident over the state ; then the well-affected are in great courage, great concord, in very great number ; that there are great forces of soldiery ; lastly, that the immortal gods do by their presence assist this invincible people, most renowned empire, and most beautiful city, against such a prodigious treason. But grant they had obtained what they pursue with such madness, do they hope that in the ashes of the town, and blood of their citizens, things which with a traitorous and an unnatural heart they have conspired, themselves should be consuls, or dictators, or indeed kings ? Do they not see that they lust after that, which if they could compass, must needs be granted some fugitive or gladiator ? A third sort is well stricken in years, yet trained up to hardiness ; in which rank is Manlius himself, whose charge Catiline has now taken. These are persons of those colonies that Sulla settled, all which I take to be of honest citizens and valiant men. But these are colonists who carry themselves too high and proud upon their unexpected and new-gotten money. These whilst they build like princes, whilst they pride themselves in their manor houses, great retinues, entertainments, litters, are sunk into so great debt that if they would ever come out Sulla must be again raised from the dead by these, who have also drawn in some farmers, poor

and needy men, upon the same expectation of their old rapines, both of whom I place, O Romans, in the same rank of robbers and plunderers. But I advise them this, let them leave off their madness, and dreaming of sequestrations, and dictatorships. For so deep a feeling of indignation has been burnt into the very state, that nowadays not only men but the brutes themselves in my opinion, would not be likely to endure such outrages.

10. The fourth sort indeed is heterogeneous and mixed and factious, such as have been long since sunk ; such as never can hold up their head again ; such as partly by idleness, partly by ill managing their business ; partly by bad husbandry, are tottering with old debts ; who being tired with suits, judgments, and outlawries, are said to flock in great numbers, both out of town and country to that camp. These men I judge not so much to be stout soldiers, as shifting bafflees ; which persons, first if they cannot stand, even let them fall ; but so that not only the state but not so much as their next neighbour should be sensible of it ; for I do not understand the reason why if they cannot live in credit, they should desire to fall with dishonour ; or why they should suppose it less pain to sink with many, than to sink alone. A fifth sort is of parricides, murderers, and in a word, of all malefactors, whom I do not invite from Catiline. For neither can they be torn from him, and in truth let them perish in rebellion, being so many that the prison cannot hold them. But the last sort is, not only in their number, but also in their course of life, that which is properly Catiline's, of his levy, nay of his embrace and bosom, such as you see with combed hair neat, either beardless or with spruce beards ; in tunics having sleeves reaching to the ancles, wrapt in mantles, and not in gowns ; all the industry of whose life and labour of watching is laid out in revellings till dawn. In

this crew all gamesters, all adulterers, all loose and debauched persons do keep. These fine and delicate youths have not only the trade of courting and being courted, nor of singing and dancing, but also of flourishing daggers and scattering poison ; who, unless they be gone, unless they perish, though Catiline should perish, be well assured this will be a standing nursery of Catilines in the state. But what do those poor wretches mean ? Can they carry their small girls with them into the camp ? And how can they be without them, especially these long, cold nights ? Or in what sort can they bear the Appennine, and those frosts and snows, unless they think they shall the more easily endure the weather, because they have practised to dance naked at feasts ?

11. O war, greatly to be dreaded, when Catiline hath about him this lewd life-guard. Now, Romans, draw up your garrisons and your armies against these precious forces of Catiline ; and first against that broken and battered gladiator range your consuls and generals, then against that naked and weather-beaten party of shipwrecked creatures draw forth the flower and strength of all Italy. Now the cities of the colonies and boroughs shall balance Catiline's rustic masses. Nor in truth ought I to compare your other forces, trophies, and strongholds with the want and beggary of that rebel. But if, waving all these things whereof we have supplies, he is in want of the senate, the knights, the Roman people, the city, the treasury, the customs, all Italy, the several provinces, foreign nations ; I say, if waving these things, we would match the bare causes which are in dispute one with another, by that only we may apprehend how flat they are laid ; for on the one side modesty fights, on the other scorn ; on this part purity, on the other debauchery ; on this side credit, on that side knavery ;

on this loyalty, on that treason ; on this side wisdom, on the other madness ; on this side honour, on that baseness ; on this government, on that lust : in fine, on this side equity, temperance, courage, prudence, all virtues, contend with oppression, with luxury, with cowardice, with rashness, with all vices. Again, wealth with want, right reason with absurdness, good judgment with infatuation. Lastly, fair hope engages with the despair of all things. In such a combat and battle, though the affections of men should withdraw, would not the immortal gods themselves oblige so many and so great vices to be overthrown by these most excellent virtues ?

12. Which things being so, Romans, do you, as I have before said, watch and ward your private houses ; I have taken order and provided that the city be sufficiently guarded without putting you into any fear or alarm. All your colonists and burgesses, having been certified by me of this night's excursion of Catiline, will sufficiently defend their cities and bounds. The gladiators, who he thought would be to him a great and a sure party, although they are better affected than some of the senators, shall yet be secured by our power. Q. Metellus, that I upon prospect of this sent before into the Gallican and Picenian country, will either surprise him himself or suppress all his motions and endeavours. But for the settling, despatching, and ordering all other things, we will immediately move the house, which you see is summoned. Now for those which have tarried behind in the city, and in truth which have been left there by Catiline, to the destruction of it and all you, though they are enemies, yet because they are natural citizens I would wish them to be warned again and again. My forbearing hitherto, if it have seemed to any too slack, has waited for this, that what was hidden might break out. For the time to come I can forget no longer

that this is my country, that I am the Romans' consul, that I must either live with them or die for them. There is no porter at the gate, no scout upon the road, if any go out they may shift for themselves ; but whoever shall stir in the town, on whose part I shall discover not only any open act but any attempting or endeavour against his country, he shall find that there are in the city vigilant consuls, there are excellent magistrates, there is a courageous senate, that there are arms and a prison, which our ancestors have appointed to be for the avenging of unnatural and notorious villanies.

13. And all this shall be so carried, Romans, that the most important affairs with the least noise, the greatest dangers without alarm, an intestine and domestic war, the cruellest and greatest since the memory of man, may be suppressed under my single conduct and generalship in the robe of peace ; which I will so manage, Romans, if it be any ways possible, that not so much as any criminal in the town may endure the punishment due to his treachery. But if the force of open rebellion, if the imminent hazard of my country shall force me from this temper of mind, I shall be sure to compass that other thing, which in so great and so dangerous a rebellion seems scarcely to be wished, that no honest person may miscarry, and that by the execution of a few ye may be all preserved. Which things I promise you, Romans, not upon confidence of my own wisdom, nor the counsels of men, but upon many, and those undoubted intimations of the immortal gods, who being my guides I have come to this hope and resolution ; who now, not at a distance, as they were wont in former times, from a foreign and remote enemy, but here in presence do defend their temples and the houses of the city with their power and assistance ; whom you, Romans, ought to petition, worship, and im-

plore, that a city which they have been pleased to raise to be most beautiful, flourishing, and powerful, they would preserve from the unnatural treason of most desperate citizens, all the power of foreign enemies being subdued both by sea and land.

THE

THIRD ORATION OF CICERO AGAINST CATILINE.

THE ARGUMENT.

The conspirators that were in the city, omitted no time or means to strengthen their party, gaining all citizens that were ill-inclined or discontented, and strangers too; for Lentulus observing that the Allobroges were deeply engaged both on public and private accounts, sends one Umbrenus, who had traded there, to their ambassadors; promises relief of their condition, requires them to pour in a party of Gallic cavalry to join with the Italian infantry. They preferring certain favour before uncertain hopes, reveal the matter to Q. Fabius Sanga, patron of their country; he discovers it to Cicero, but is advised to bid the ambassadors to hold on fair with them, and so sound the depth of the business with means to discover it. They according to direction insist upon an oath, signed under their hands, to carry their state, which Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius gave, Cassius only promised. The night of their departure homewards, Cicero lodges two companies under the Captains C. Pontinius and L. Flaccus, one on either side the Pons Milvius, which way they necessarily pass, and intercepts them, their guide Titus Vulturcius, and with them a box of letters both to Catiline and their senate. Then by break of day he summons a senate into the Temple of Concord. What was there done that day, being the 5th of December in the evening, he informs the people at the place of assembly.

You see, countrymen, the state, and all your lives, your

goods, estates, wives, and children, and this seat of the most renowned empire, the most fortunate and beautiful city, this day by the peculiar love of the immortal gods towards you, by my labours, counsels, and dangers, rescued from fire and sword, and out of the very jaws of destruction, and preserved and restored to you. Now if those days wherein we are delivered are no less delightful and remarkable to us than those whereon we are born, because the joy of our being preserved is certain, the condition whereunto we are born, uncertain, and because we are not sensible of our being born, but take delight at our being preserved,—in truth, since we have extolled in love and glory Romulus, that founded this city, to the immortal gods, he surely that has preserved this city so founded and enlarged, ought to find some esteem with you and your posterity. For we have quenched those brands, which were well nigh put to, and laid about, the temples, shrines, houses, and battlements of the whole city. We too have beaten back the swords drawn against the state, and have warded off the points of them from your throats. All which having been in the senate cleared, manifested, and discovered by me, I will now in short report to you, countrymen, that you who are ignorant may know from what has been done both how great and how plain they are, and by what course traced out and taken. First of all, since Catiline a few days ago broke out of the city, having left in Rome the accomplices of his treason, and the most stout commanders of this unnatural war, I always have been vigilant and provident, countrymen, how we might be safe amidst so great and secret plottings.

2. For then, when I cast Catiline out of the town (nor do I now fear the censure of that word, the contrary being rather to be apprehended, that he went out alive) but then when I desired him to be banished from our borders, I

either thought that the rest of the conspirators would have gone out together, or that those who tarried behind would be weak and disabled without him. But now since I saw that those who I know were inflamed with the greatest rage and malignancy were amongst us, and tarried behind at Rome, I employed all my time day and night in this, namely, to discover and see what they consulted and designed, that so, seeing my report could find but small credit with your ears, by reason of the heinousness of the treason, I might render the matter so evident that you should then in your minds provide for your safety, when you saw with your eyes the naked conspiracy. Therefore as soon as I came to know that the ambassadors of the Allobroges had been tampered with by P. Lentulus to raise a Transalpine war, and to put all Gaul into an uproar, and that they were sent into Gaul to their countrymen, and under one journey, with letters and instructions to Catiline, and that Vulturcius was added to them as a companion, and to him were given letters to Catiline, I thought I had an opportunity to put into my hand, that, what was the hardest point, and what I always wished for from the immortal gods, the whole matter might be clearly discovered not only by me but by the senate and yourselves. Therefore yesterday I sent for L. Flaccus and C. Pontinius, prætors, most valiant and patriotic persons; I declared the whole matter, shewed them my pleasure. Now they, as men of an eminent and singular affection to the state, without excuse or delay undertook the business, and when it grew towards night got secretly to Pons Milvius, and there in the adjoining towns so divided themselves, that the bridge and the river Tiber was between them. They carried also along with them without any suspicion many stout men, and I too had sent thither many choice youths, wearing swords, out of the jurisdic-

tion of Reate, whose service I continually make use of in guiding of the state. Now the third watch being near ended, so soon as the ambassadors of the Allobroges, with a great train began to be upon the bridge, and Vulturcius with them, they are assailed, swords were drawn both by them and by our men. The matter was known only to the prætors, but unknown to the rest.

3. Then on the interposition of Pontinius and Flaccus, the fray that was begun is appeased. Whatever letters were in that retinue are delivered with the seals entire to the prætors; the persons apprehended are brought before me about break of day; hereupon I sent for the most dangerous contriver of all these plots, Cimber Gabinus, suspecting no such matter; then afterwards P. Statilius is fetched, and after him Cethegus, latest of all came Lentulus. I suppose because in making despatches late last night he had sat up beyond his ordinary hour. Now when it was the opinion of the most eminent and honourable men of the city, who upon hearing the matter came early to my house in great number, that the letters should be first opened by me before they were moved in the house, lest, if there should be nothing in them, so great an alarm might seem to have been rashly given the city; I said I would not but in a public danger propound the matter first to the public council. For, countrymen, if that had not been in them which I was informed of, yet I did not suspect that in so great dangers of the state the blame of over diligence was to be feared by me; I suddenly called a full house, as you see. And in the mean time, presently at the advice of the Allobroges I despatched C. Sulpitius the prætor, a stout man, to bring out of the house of Cethegus whatever arms there were; from whence he brought out a great quantity of daggers and swords.

4. I called in Vulturcius without the Gauls, and by the order of the house passed the public faith to him, advising him that without fear he would discover what he knew ; thereupon he, being scarcely come to himself from a great fright, said that he had instructions from Pub. Lentulus to Catiline, and letters that he should use the assistance of slaves, and bring his army with all expedition up to the city ; this he did to that intent that when they had fired the city in all corners, as it was laid out and divided, and had made an infinite massacre of the citizens, he might be at hand to glean up them that escaped, and join his forces with these city commanders. But the Gauls brought in, said they had an oath and letters given to them by P. Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, to their nation ; and such orders were given them, by these, and by L. Cassius, that they should send their cavalry with all speed into Italy, and for infantry they should not want. Also that Lentulus had assured them out of the Sybils' books and the prophecies of soothsayers, that he is that third Cornelius, to whom the sovereignty and empire of this city must come ; that Sulla and Cinna had been before him, and that he said this year was fatal for the destruction of this city and empire, being the 10th year after the absolution of the virgins, and the twentieth since the burning of the Capitol. They said too that there was this controversy between Cethegus and the rest, that whereas Lentulus and the others would have the massacre made, and the city burnt on the Saturnalia, Cethegus thought that was too long.

5. Now not to be tedious, countrymen, we commanded the letters to be produced, which were said to have been delivered by each person respectively. The first we shewed to Cethegus, he knew the seal, we cut the thread, read it ; there was written with his own hand, to the senate and the people of the Allobroges, that he would effect what

he had assured their ambassadors ; desiring that they also, on their part, would effect what their ambassadors had taken upon themselves. Then Cethegus, who a little before had made some answer about the swords and daggers which were found in his house, and had said, that he was always a lover of good blades ; upon reading the letters, being dismayed and confounded, through the conviction of his conscience, was of a sudden put to silence. Statilius was brought in, he knew both his seal and his hand ; the letters were read to the same purpose in a manner ; he confessed it. Then I shewed Lentulus his letter, and inquired whether he knew the seal ? By a nod he owned it. Yes indeed said I, it is a noted seal, the image of your grandfather, a most honourable person, who bare a singular affection to his country and countrymen, which might of itself, though dumb, reclaim you from so great a treason. The letter in the same tenor to the senate and people of the Allobroges is read, if he had any thing to say for himself in this matter I gave him liberty. Thereupon he first denied it, but a little after, the whole information being produced and declared, he stood up, asked the Gauls what he had to do with them, that they should come to his house. He asked Vulturcius also the like, who having answered him shortly and coherently, with resolution, by whose means, and how often they came to him, and having asked him whether he had spoken nothing to them about the Sybils' books, then he of a sudden, being for his wickedness infatuated, shewed how great the force of conscience is. For, whereas he might safely have denied that, of a sudden, contrary to the expectation of all, he confessed it. So not only that wit of his, and practice of speaking, wherein he always had good ability, but also through the greatness of his manifest and convicted treason, that impudence

wherein he surpassed all, and presumptuousness failed him. But Vulturcius of a sudden requires that the letters should be produced and opened, which he said were given him by Lentulus to carry to Catiline. Thereupon Lentulus being exceedingly confounded, yet knew his seal and hand. Now they were written without any name, but thus, "Who I am you shall know of this bearer, whom I have sent express to you ; look that you play the man, and consider what pass you are come to, and see what is at the present necessary for you. Look that you join to yourself the aids of all, even of the meanest." Then Gabinius brought in, when as at first he began to answer peremptorily, at last denied nothing of that which the Gauls charged upon him. Now as to me, countrymen, whereas those arguments and proofs of the treason seem most certain, the letters, seals, hands, lastly the confession of every one ; so did those other seem more sure, their colour, eyes, looks, silence, for they were so amazed, so fixed their looks on the ground, so silyly now and then eyed one another, that no longer did they seem to be discovered by others but to discover themselves.

6. The proofs being produced and declared, I put the question to the senate, what they would resolve upon for securing the state ? Most severe and courageous votes were given by the leading men, which the senate followed without any dissent, and because the order is not yet drawn up, I shall repeat to you, countrymen, by heart what the senate voted. First of all, the thanks of the house were given me in an ample manner, because by my courage, counsel, providence, the commonwealth had been delivered from most imminent dangers. Then L. Flaccus and Caius Pontinius are deservedly and justly praised, because I had found their assistance spirited and faithful. Caius Antonius, a valiant man, my colleague, has his

share of praise given him too, for having removed those that were engaged in this conspiracy from his council and the secrets of state. | And thus they resolved, that P. Lentulus having first laid down the prætorship, should be taken into custody : also that C. Cethegus, L. Statilius, and Publius Gabinus, who were all personally present, should be committed : and the same was voted too against L. Cassius, who had sued for a commission to fire the city : against M. Cæparius, to whom, as it was informed, Apulia was allotted, for inflaming the herdsmen ; against P. Furius, who is of those colonies that L. Sulla settled in Fæsulæ : against Q. Magius Chilo, who together with this Furius was always busy in this exciting of the Allobroges : against P. Umbrenus, a freedman, by whom it was evidenced the Gauls were first brought in to Gabinus. And the senate used such gentleness, countrymen, that out of so great a conspiracy, and such a power and multitude of home-bred enemies, the commonwealth being preserved by the punishment of nine most rotten members, it is supposed the minds of the rest may be cured. And further, a thanksgiving to the immortal gods for their exceeding goodness was voted to be kept upon my account, which has never been done before to any in the long robe, since the foundation of the city, but to me ; and it was drawn up in these words, “ Because I had delivered the city from firing, the citizens from slaughter, and Italy from war.” Which thanksgiving if it be compared with others, countrymen, this difference may be found, that others have been appointed for serving, mine for the preserving of the state. And that which was in the first place to be done is passed and performed. For P. Lentulus, although discovered by his proofs and confessions, had been by the judgment of the senate degraded not only from the dignity of prætor, but from the liberty of a

citizen, yet did lay down his magistracy, in order that we in punishing Publius Lentulus as a mere private individual, might be freed from that scruple which however had not prevented Caius Marius from putting to death Caius Glaucia, concerning whom nothing had been decreed by name, while actually prætor.

7. Now seeing, countrymen, you have the unnatural generals of this most wicked and dangerous rebellion in hold and prison, ye ought to judge that all the forces of Catiline, all his hopes and strength, these dangers of the city being prevented, are fallen to the ground ; whom indeed when I turned out of the town, I foresaw this in my mind, countrymen, that if Catiline were got out of the way, I had no reason to fear either the drowsiness of P. Lentulus, or the lazy corpulence of L. Cassius, or the hot-headed rashness of Caius Cethegus. He was the only person of them all to be feared, but so long as he continued within the town, he had intelligence of every thing, he had access to every body. He had ability, had confidence to break the question to them, to feel them, to practise them. He had a head shaped for any exploit, and to that head was wanting neither tongue nor hand. Now for the execution of his other business, he had certain choice and suitable instruments ; nor yet, as soon as he had given a thing in charge did he reckon his work done ; there was nothing but he overlooked himself, forwarded, watched, and drudged for ; could bear cold, thirst, hunger. This person, so eager, so forward, so audacious, so subtle, so watchful at his treason, so active in mischief, had I not driven from his secret ambushes in the town to open action in the field (to tell you, countrymen, what I think) I had not easily removed this great mischief from your necks. He would not have pitched upon the Saturnalia for us, nor so long before have given out the fatal day for

the destruction of the state, neither would he have been so far committed himself as that his seal, his letters, no, not that any witnesses of such open treason should be produced. All which, now in his absence, have been so carried, that never was theft in any private house so openly detected as this so great conspiracy in the state has been found and convicted. But if Catiline had tarried in the town to this day, although so long as he was here I obviated and prevented his designs, yet to say the least, we must have fought with him, nor could we ever, as long as that enemy had been in the town, with so great peace, such quiet, such silence, have freed the state from so great dangers.

8. Although all these things, countrymen, I have so managed that they may be perceived to have been foreseen and carried on by the counsel and guidance of the immortal gods. Which we may attain to by conjecture, because the conduct of such weighty affairs may hardly be judged within the compass of human policies; so indeed in such present manner of late have they aided and assisted us, that we might almost see them with our eyes. For, to wave these things, meteors like torches in the west, seen by night, and the blazing of the heavens; to pass by lightnings, earthquakes, and the other prodigies which have happened in our consulship, so many, that the immortal gods seem with a voice from heaven to have proclaimed the things which are now come to pass—this one thing, countrymen, which I shall mention must neither be omitted nor neglected. For ye must needs remember when Cotta and Torquatus were consuls, that many turrets in the Capitol were struck with lightning, what time also the images of the immortal gods were beaten down, and the statues of ancient men overthrown, and the brass tables of the law melted; Romulus too, that founded this

city, was smitten, whom you remember to have been gilt in the Capitol, a babe sucking and opening his mouth wide for the wolves' teats. At what time the diviners, having been convened from all Etruria, said; that slaughters and fires, and the abolition of the laws, and civil and domestic wars, and ruin of the whole city and empire did approach, unless the immortal gods, appeased by all means, should by their absolute power almost alter the course of fate. Therefore upon their interpretations at that time, both plays were for ten days celebrated, and nothing omitted which might tend towards the atonement of the gods. The same soothsayers too gave order, to make a larger image of Jupiter, and to place it on high, and turn it east, contrary to what it had been before; and said, they had hopes if that image which you see looked towards the east, and the judgment hall and the senate house, it would come to pass that those designs which were secretly plotted against the safety of the city and empire should be brought to light, so that they might be clearly seen by the senate and people of Rome. Now those consuls agreed with workmen to have it erected in that posture, but the slowness of the work was such that it was neither set up by the former consuls nor by us till this very day.

9. Here who can be so destitute of truth, so obstinate, so senseless, as to deny this whole visible world, and especially this city, to be ruled by the providence and power of the immortal gods? For whereas such interpretation was given, that slaughter, fires, and subversion of the state were contriving, and that by lewd citizens; which at that time for the heinousness of the crimes seemed to some incredible: you have found those things not only designed but also attempted by unnatural citizens. And is not that so plain a thing that it may seem to have

come to pass by the guidance of the good and great Jupiter, that when as to day morning, both the conspirators and the informers against them were by my order carried into the Temple of Concord, at that very time the image was setting up? Which being placed, and turned towards you and the senate, both the senate and you have seen what things were contrived against the safety of every one to be all brought to light and manifested. So much the more hatred and punishment were they worthy of, who have endeavoured to bring a deadly and unnatural flame not only against your seats and houses, but also the temples and shrines of the immortal gods. Whom if I should say that I resisted, I should take too much upon me, and were intolerable. That, that Jupiter resisted them. He willed that the Capitol, he that these temples, he that this city, he that all of you should be preserved. By the guidance of the immortal gods I received these impressions and impulses, and attained to these so evident proofs. Now this practising of the Allobroges, a business of such importance, would never truly have been so sottishly trusted by Lentulus, and the other home-bred enemies, both to strangers and to barbarians, nor letters committed, unless by the judgment of the immortal gods all sense had been taken away from so desperate an attempt. What then are we to think that the Gauls being of a state hardly well reduced, which is the only nation left that seems both able and not unwilling to make war with the Roman people, should yet neglect the hope of empire and of great advantages freely offered them by patricians, and should prefer your safety before their own power: do you not think that this came from God? especially when they might have overcome us not by fighting, but by holding their peace?

10. Therefore, countrymen, seeing that a thanksgiving

is voted before all the images, solemnize those days with your wives and children. For many honours have been justly, and of due given to the immortal gods, but in truth none ever more justly ; for being rescued from most cruel and miserable destruction, rescued without slaughter, without blood, without army, without fighting, in your gowns, I being your only commander and general in the long robe, ye have gotten the victory. Now call to mind, countrymen all civil dissensions, not those only which ye have heard of, but these also which yourselves do remember and have seen. L. Sulla suppressed P. Sulpicius; he banished C. Marius the preserver of this city, and many valiant men he partly banished, partly slew. Cneius Octavius being consul, chased out his colleague from the town by force of arms. All this place was covered with heaps of corpses and the blood of citizens. Afterwards Cinna and Marius prevailed. But then the most eminent men being slain, the eyes of the city were put out ; afterwards Sulla avenged the cruelty of this victory ; with how great diminution of the citizens and calamity of the state ! M. Lepidus dissented from Quintus Catulus, a most gallant and valiant man, not so much his own destruction brought sorrow to the commonwealth as that of others. And these dissensions were of this nature, countrymen, as tended not to the abolition but the change of government. These men did not desire that there should be no state, but that themselves should be the principals in such as was. Nor would they have the city burnt, but themselves to flourish in it ; yet all these dissensions, whereof none desired the destruction of the state, were such as were decided, not by an accommodation of parties but by the carnage of citizens. But in this war, the greatest and cruellest of any recorded, such a war as never any barbarians waged with their own nation ; in

which war this condition was resolved upon by Lentulus, Catiline, Cassius, Cethegus, that all they who could save themselves in saving the city should have no quarter given, I have so behaved myself, countrymen, that all of you are preserved in safety. And when your enemies had reckoned that so many citizens should survive as were the remainder of a boundless massacre, and so much of the city should stand as the flame could not take in, I have preserved both city and citizens safe and sound.

11. For which so great actions, countrymen, I require from you no reward of virtue, nor badge of honour, nor monument of praise besides the everlasting memory of this day. I would have deposited and erected in your bosoms, all my triumphs, all ornaments of honour, monuments of glory, badges of praise. No dumb thing can delight me, nothing silent ; in a word, nothing of that nature which men of not any great merit may attain. In your memory, countrymen, shall our actions be cherished, in your discourses shall they grow up, in the records of history shall they come to age and full strength, and I judge that the same length of time, which I hope will be parallel with eternity, is propagated both to the preservation of this city, and to the memory of my consulship ; and that at one time in this state were two citizens, the one whereof has bounded the extent of your empire, not by the terrestrial but the celestial regions ; the other preserved the mansion and seat of the same empire.

12. But because there is not a like fortune and condition of the things which I have acted, as of those who have waged foreign wars ; because I must live with them I have vanquished and subdued, they have left their enemies either slain or brought into bondage—it is your part, countrymen, to provide, if others' good actions advantage them, that mine may not ever prejudice me.

For that the treacherous and unnatural intentions of audacious men might not hurt you, I have provided ; that they may not hurt me, it is your part to provide. Although, countrymen, myself cannot be hurt by them ; for there is great protection in the good party which is gained to me for ever ;) great dignity in the state, which will always silently defend me ; there is a great awe of conscience, which whosoever shall slight, when they go about to hurt me, they will betray themselves. There is further in us such resolution, countrymen, that we are so far from giving way to the boldness of any, that we always voluntarily defy all traitors. Now if all the assaults of the home-bred enemies, diverted from you, should return upon my single person, you, countrymen, must look to it ; in what condition you would have them hereafter stand, who shall interpose themselves to envy and all dangers for your preservation. For myself, what is there more that can be acquired to the content of life, especially since I see no higher step that I care to ascend either in place of honour from you, or in praise of virtue. This, countrymen, in truth I will effect, that what I have managed in my consulship, when I am come to be a private man, I will maintain and improve. That if any envy for preserving the state has been incurred, it may turn to their hurt only that bear it, but to my glory. In conclusion, I will so conduct myself in the state as always to remember what I have acted, and give diligence, that it may appear to have been managed by virtue and not fortune. You, countrymen, seeing it is now night, go pray to that Jupiter the guardian of this city and yourselves, and go away to your houses, and though the danger be now over, yet watch and ward them as ye did the night before ; that this need not be done by you much longer, and that ye may continue in peace without interruption, I will provide.

THE

FOURTH ORATION OF CICERO

AGAINST CATILINE.

THE ARGUMENT.

The conspiracy being thus fully discovered, a senate is called on the 6th of December, that a reward be bestowed on the ambassadors of the Allobroges and Titus Vulturcius, for giving information of the plot; and in the night to avoid a tumult of the people, the prisoners were conveyed into the common gaol; but Lentulus by divers of his liberti and clients, spread into several quarters, essayed to hire workmen and shopkeepers to rise and rescue him. So Cethegus animated his gladiators and stout men that were in his crew, to make their way into him with their weapons. Upon notice of which Cicero calls the senate again on the 7th, and puts it to the question, what the house pleases should be done with the prisoners? Where finding them divided, and some, out of tenderness to him, inclinable to a less severe censure, he persuades them to be unanimous, and before night pass their sentence with diligence and courage.

I see, O conscript fathers, all your faces and eyes turned towards me, I see you solicitous, not only for your own and the commonwealth's danger, but, (although that be prevented) for mine also. Your affection to me in this perplexity I take kindly and thankfully, amidst my grief; but I beseech you for the immortal gods' sake lay that aside, and forgetting my safety, think upon yourselves and your own children. For my part, if this have been made the condition of my consulship, that I must undergo all extremities, all pains and torments, I shall endure them, not only courageously, but even contentedly, so that by my pains, deliverance and honour may be brought forth to

you and the Roman people. I am that consul, O conscript fathers, who have never found the forum wherein all equity is preserved, nor the Campus Martius consecrated to the election of consuls, nor the senate the supreme relief of all nations, nor my own house the common refuge, nor bed ordained for repose, nor lastly this seat of honour, the ivory chair, free from the danger of my life and plots. I have concealed much, endured much, yielded much, have with some regret of my own in your fears, healed much. Now if the immortal gods are pleased to have this the issue of my consulship, that I should rescue you, my lords, and the Roman people, from a miserable massacre; your wives and children and the vestal virgins from most violent handling; their temples and shrines and this the most noble country of every one of us, from a most execrable flame; all Italy from war and desolation; whatever fortune shall be proposed to my single person, let it fall. For if P. Lentulus, seduced by fortune-tellers, has thought his name should be preordained to the destruction of the state, why should not I rejoice that my consulship has been almost preordained to the preservation of the commonwealth?

2. Wherefore, my lords, look to your own interest, provide for your country, preserve your wives, children, and estates; defend the name and safety of the Roman people; forbear your tenderness for me, and to be anxious on my behalf. For first, I have grounds to hope that all the gods that are tutelar to the city, will render unto me according to my desert. Then if any thing should fall out amiss, I shall be contented and ready to die, for death can never come dishonourable to a valiant person, nor untimely to him that is consular, nor unfortunate to a wise man. Neither yet am I so obdurate as not to be moved with the affliction of my most dear and loving brother here present, and with the tears of all these you see me

surrounded with. Not but that my wife dismayed, my daughter distracted with fear, and the little babe my son, whom the commonwealth seems to embrace as the hostage of my consulship, do often call my thoughts home ; nor am I uncouncerned for my son-in-law, who stands here in my sight, waiting for the issue of this day. I am moved at all these things, but to that side that they may be all preserved with you ; although any violence should overwhelm me rather than that they and we should be involved in the universal ruin of the state. Wherefore, O conscript fathers, apply yourselves to the preservation of the commonwealth, look well about for the storms that hang over you, unless you provide against them. It is not Tib. Gracchus that would the second time be made tribune of the commons ; not C. Gracchus, that endeavoured to stir up the partisans of his Agrarian laws ; not L. Saturninus, that slew C. Memmius, is called in question, and brought to the trial of your severity. But those are in hold who tarried at Rome for the burning of the city, the massacring of all of you, and letting in of Catiline. Their letters, seals, hands, are produced ; in a word, every one's confession : the Allobroges are tampered with, slaves raised, Catiline invited : such a plot was laid that all should be cut off and none left, no not so much as to deplore the name of the people of Rome, and lament the calamity of so great an empire.

3. All this informers have declared, the criminals have confessed, yourselves have by many verdicts already prejudged : first, in that ye gave me thanks in singular terms, and did declare that by my virtue and diligence the conspiracy of desperate men was discovered : then in that ye obliged P. Lentulus to lay down the prætorship : then that you voted both him and the others on whom you passed sentence to be committed, and especially in

that you ordered a thanksgiving in my behalf, which honour has not been given to any in the long robe before me: lastly, in that yesterday you gave most large rewards to the ambassadors of the Allobroges and Titus Vulturcius. All which things are of that nature that those who have been put in prison by name may without any controversy appear to have been condemned by you. But I have resolved to move the question anew to you, both concerning the fact, what you judge of it, and concerning the punishment, what you resolve upon; yet I will only premise what belongs to my place as consul. I long since saw a great malignancy working in the state, and certain new mischiefs brewing and stirring; but that so great, so deadly a conspiracy as this was made by citizens I never dreamt. Now whatever it be to which your minds and resolutions bend, you must determine it before night. How great a treason has been discovered you see. If you think but few to be accessary to it you are greatly mistaken. The mischief is spread further than you imagine. It is diffused not only over all Italy, but has passed beyond the Alps, and creeping secretly has already seized many provinces. It can by no means be crushed by forbearing and delaying: whatever way you think fit it must suddenly be punished.

4. I see as yet but two votes, the one of D. Silanus, who resolves that they which endeavoured to destroy these things should be punished with death; the other of C. Cæsar, who excludes the penalties of death, but takes in all extremities of other punishments. The one and the other both according to his dignity and the atrocity of the fact deals with the highest severity. The one judges that they who endeavoured to deprive us all and the Roman people of life, to rase the empire, to extinguish the name of the Roman people, ought not one moment to enjoy life

and this air we breathe in ; and quotes precedents that this sort of punishment has been often used against seditious citizens in the state. The other is of this judgment, that death was never appointed by the immortal gods for a punishment, but either a natural necessity or rest from labours and miseries ; therefore that wise men never unwillingly, and valiant men have often cheerfully, embraced death : but that bonds, and those everlasting, have in truth been invented for the singular punishment of unnatural wickedness. Hereupon he orders that they should be imprisoned in the several borough towns. This thing if you command it seems to carry oppression with it, difficulty if you require it, yet let it pass if it be your will and pleasure. For I shall promise to show, and I hope shall show, a man that does not think it suitable to his office to dispute that which you shall determine for the public good. He adds a grievous punishment upon the burgesses, if any of them shall break prison, puts dreadful guards upon them, and enacts what is due to the treason of such desperate villains ; that no one hereafter should move either the senate or people to mitigate their punishment whom he condemns ; yea he cuts off even hope, which alone is wont to be the comfort of men in misery. Besides, he orders that their goods be confiscated, leaves only life to the miscreants, which had he cut off, he had with one pang taken away many torments of body and mind, and all the punishments of their villanies. Wherefore that there might be some awe set over bad men in this life, those in ancient times would have some such punishments ordained for the wicked in hell, because it seems they were of opinion that if those were removed death itself were not to be dreaded.

5. Now, O conscript fathers, I see here my interests are concerned. If you shall follow Cæsar's vote, seeing he

has stood that course which is counted popular in the state, perchance I shall have less reason to dread the insults of the people, he being the author and persuader of this resolution. If you shall choose the other, I do not know whether I shall have any further trouble at all. But yet let the advantage of the state prevail over the considerations of my private dangers. For we have from C. Cæsar, as his own dignity and the honour of his ancestors required, this his vote as an hostage of his perpetual good affection to the state. It is to be discerned what difference there is between the vanity of demagogues and a mind truly popular seeking the safety of the people. I see somebody of those that would be counted popular, absent, that they may not indeed pass sentence on Roman citizens. The same person both the day before yesterday committed Cethegus and P. Lentulus, Roman citizens, to prison, and voted a thanksgiving for me, and yesterday highly rewarded the informers. Now, none can question what he, who has voted imprisonment to the malefactor, thanks to the judge, reward to the informer, judges concerning the whole case and business. But now C. Cæsar conceives that the Sempronian act was made concerning Roman citizens, whereas he that is an enemy to the state can by no means be a citizen. In a word, that the very maker of the Sempronian act, by order of the people, was executed for his treason. He too, does not think that Lentulus the prodigal, and the great corrupter of the people, having so bitterly and cruelly plotted the subversion of the state, and the destruction of the city, can be called popular. Therefore like a soft and good natured man, he sticks not to commit P. Lentulus to everlasting chains and darkness ; and enacts for the future, that no one may vaunt himself in the release of his punishment, and come to be popular to the ruin of the state. He further adds

the confiscation of their goods, that the want and beggary of the body may follow all the torments of the soul.

6. Wherefore, whether you shall conclude upon this, you will furnish me with a companion to the assembly that is beloved and approved by the Roman people, or, if you shall follow that other vote of Silanus, you will easily justify me and yourselves from any aspersion of cruelty, and I shall have it granted that that was far the gentler cause. Although, conscript fathers, what cruelty can there be in punishing the inhumanity of so great treason? Now I judge as I am sensible of the nature of the fact; for so may you and I long enjoy the quiet of the state, as my earnestness in this case does not proceed from any bitterness of spirit, (for who can be milder than I?) but from a kind of singular tenderness and compassion. For methinks I see this city, the light of the whole world, and the citadel of all nations, of a sudden sinking in one conflagration; I see in my mind my country buried, heaps of citizens, miserable and unburied, the look of Cethegus, and his rage swaggering in your slaughter passes before my eyes. But when I consider Lentulus upon the throne, as himself confessed that he expected by prophecies, this Gabinus his courtier clad in purple, Catiline come with his army; then I dread the shrieks of honest women, and the flight of virgins and boys, and the outrages offered to the vestal virgins; now because these things seem to me miserable and pitiful in the excess, therefore I shew myself severe and earnest against those who designed to accomplish them. For I put the case, if any master of a family, having had his children dashed in pieces by his servant, his wife killed, and his house burnt, should not inflict a most sore punishment upon the slave; were he to be thought gentle and merciful, or a most inhuman and cruel creature? In truth I should think him hardhearted

and senseless that should not ease his own grief and torment with the grief and torment of the malefactor. So we should be towards those men who would murder us, our wives, and our children, who endeavoured to rase the particular house of every one of us, and this general seat of the empire, who did this so as to attempt to place the nation of the Allobroges in the ruins of this city, and in the ashes of the consumed empire. If we shall be most eager, we shall be accounted merciful; if we shall be too slack, we must undergo the infamy of the greatest cruelty in the destruction of our country and countrymen. Unless perchance, L. Cæsar, a most valiant and well-affected patriot might be thought the day before yesterday by any one somewhat cruel, when he said his brother-in-law, the husband of his own sister, a most virtuous lady, when he was there present and in hearing, must be put to death; when he further said, that his grandfather was slain by the order of the consul, and his young son, ambassador from the father, executed in the prison; of whom what action was there similar? What plot was there laid to confound the commonwealth? A corrupt humour of profuseness was then stirring in the state, and a kind of stickling for parties. Now at that time the grandfather of this Lentulus, an honourable person, in arms pursued Gracchus, and then received in his body a sore hurt, that the majesty of the state might in no point receive abatement. This his descendant, to subvert the foundations of the state, called in the Gauls, raised the slaves, invited Catiline, allotted us to be assassinated by Cethegus, the other citizens to be murdered by Gabinius, the city to be set on fire by Cassius, all Italy to be laid waste and plundered by Catiline. You may be timorous, I warrant you, lest in so barbarous and unnatural a treason you may be thought to have passed too severe a sentence, when ye

ought much rather to dread lest by remissness of punishment you should be rather judged cruel to your country, than by severity of execution, too vigorous towards its most bitter enemies.

7. But, O conscript fathers, I cannot conceal what I hear boldly spoken; for words are given out which are come to my ears, of some who would seem to fear my having strength enough to put in execution what you shall this day enact. All things are provided, ready, and concluded upon, O conscript fathers, both by my great care and diligence, as also by the far greater forwardness of the Roman people to retain their empire and preserve their common fortunes. All men of all ranks, nay of all ages, are here. The market-place is full. All the avenues of this house and temple are full. For since the foundation of the city this is the only case that has happened, wherein all persons are of one and the same mind, excepting those who seeing themselves must perish choose rather to perish with all than to fall alone. These men I am willing to exclude and separate; for neither do I reckon them in the number of bad citizens but of most desperate enemies. But the rest now (immortal gods!) with what concourse, with what earnestness, with what courage do they conspire to the common honour and safety! Why do I mention here the Roman knights that so yield to you in supremacy of order and counsel, as that in good affections to their country they contend with you? whom after many years' dissension this day and this cause joins to us, having reduced them to an agreement and unity with our order, which conjunction consummated in my consulship, if we shall hold steadily in the commonwealth, I assure you no civil and home-bred mischief shall hereafter accrue to any part of the state. I see the commissioners of the treasury, most courageous persons, and also all the scribes, have

flocked hither with the like affection to defend the state, whom this day having casually drawn to the treasury I see to be turned from attendance upon their lot to the common safety. All the multitude of freemen assists, even of the meanest. For who is there to whom these temples, the very face of the city, possession of liberty, in a word, this very light, and this common ground of his country, is not both dear and also sweet and delightful?

8. It is worth the while, O conscript fathers, to observe the zeal of the freedmen, who, having by their industry purchased the fortune of the city, judge this in truth to be their own country. Whereas some born here, and born in the highest rank, have not judged it their country but an enemies' city. But why do I mention men of this rank, whom their private fortunes, whom the common state, whom, lastly, that liberty which is most sweet, has raised to defend the safety of their country? There is no slave that is but in a tolerable condition of service but dreads the audaciousness of desperate citizens, and wishes the present constitution to remain, but contributes as much as he dares, and as much as he can, to the common endeavour after safety. Wherefore if what hath been said do chance to weigh with any of you, that a certain pimp of Lentulus' bustles about the shops, hoping that the minds of indigent and simple men may be wrought upon with money; such a thing indeed was set on foot and attempted; but there were none found so much either in fortune miserable or in principles debauched, but desired that very place of his stall and work and daily earnings, but his bare lodging and bed, nay but the very idle course of their life, to be in safety; yea far the greatest part of shopkeepers, or in truth (for it should rather be so said) that whole rank is very fond of peace; for all their tools, all their day-labour and gain are supported by the popu-

lousness of the towns, and cherished by peace ; whose gain, if it be impaired at the shutting up of their shops, what would become of it at the burning of them ? Which things being so, O conscript fathers, you do not want the guards of the Roman people ; look to it, that ye be not thought wanting to the people of Rome.

9. You have a consul reserved from many dangers and plots, and from the midst of death, not for his own life but for your safety : all ranks do conspire in mind, affection, endeavour, courage, and voice, to preserve the state. The common country, beset with fire-brands and the weapons of the unnatural conspiracy, humbly holds forth her hand to you : to you commends herself, to you the life of all her citizens, to you the tower and Capitol, to you the altars of the household gods, to you the continual and everlasting fire of Vesta, to you all the temples and shrines of the gods, to you the battlements and houses of the city. Besides, this day you must pass judgment upon your own lives, the breath of your wives and children, the fortunes of all, your houses and healths. You have a leader regarding you, forgetting himself, an opportunity not always given. You have all ranks, all men, all the Roman people, which in a civil case we now first behold in one and the same mind. Consider how one night has almost confounded an empire, founded with what labours ? A liberty established upon what valour ? Fortunes improved and raised, by what bounty of the gods ? That such a thing may never hereafter be not only effected but contrived you must this day provide. Nor have I spoken all this to press you, who in your affections do almost outrun me, but that my voice, which ought to be leading in the government, may appear to have discharged the duty of a consul.

10. Now before I come home to my vote, I will premise

a word concerning myself. I see that I have drawn upon myself so great a multitude of enemies as is the party of the conspirators, which you perceive to be very great ; but I judge to be base and weak, contemptible and lost. But if in any time to come that party, headed by the fury and treachery of any person, shall come to be more prevalent than your honour and that of the state ; yet I shall never repent, O conscript fathers, of my actions and counsels ; for death, with which perchance they menace me, is appointed for all ; but so great a praise of life, as you by your acts have honoured me with, no one has attained to. For ye have voted to all others always thanks for having well served ; but to me alone for having preserved the state. Let that Scipio be renowned, by whose conduct and valour Hannibal was obliged to retreat into Africa and quit Italy. Let the other Africans be adorned with excellent praise, who rased two cities most incensed against this empire, Carthage and Numantia. Let L. Paulus be accounted an extraordinary person, whose chariot the once most puissant and noble king Perses honoured. Let Marius be in eternal renown, who freed Italy from siege and the fear of bondage. Let Pompey be advanced beyond them all, whose actions and gallantries are contained in the same countries and bounds as the course of the sun. There will be in truth amidst the praises of these persons some room for our glory ; unless perchance it be more to open us provinces whither we may escape, than to look that they that are absent may have a place whither they may return victorious. Although in one point the condition of a foreign victory is better than that of a domestic one ; because foreign enemies either are subdued and brought into bondage, or reconciled, and judge themselves obliged by that favour. But they which from the rank of citizens, deprived by

some false principle, are once turned enemies to their country, when you have put them from their mischievous intentions, you can neither by force restrain, nor by any kindness reconcile. Wherefore I see I have entered into an implacable quarrel with revolted citizens, which yet I have good confidence may be by your and all honest men's assistance, and through the memory of those great dangers, which will always remain not only in this people, which has been preserved, but also in the discourses and minds of all nations, fairly beaten off from me and mine. Nor indeed shall there ever be found any so great power which can infringe and shake the union that is between you and the Roman knights, and such a harmony of all the well-affected.

11. Which things being so, O conscript fathers, instead of a generalship of an army, of a government, which I have neglected ; instead of a triumph and other badges of praise, which have been slighted by me, in regard of the city and your preservation ; instead of clientships and provincial friendships, which yet with my estate in the city, I do with no less labour support than purchase ; instead therefore of all these things, and in reward of my singular affections towards you, and for this diligence, which ye behold in preserving the state, I require nothing more of you, but the remembrance of this time and my whole consulship, and while it shall continue fixed in your minds, I shall judge myself incircled with a most impenetrable wall. But if the violence of the ill-affected shall deceive and over-match my expectation, I commend to you my little son, who assuredly shall have guard enough, not only for preservation, but also for honour, if ye shall remember that he is his son who has alone at his own peril preserved the whole state. Wherefore, O conscript fathers, resolve cautiously, as ye have begun, and

stoutly, concerning your own and the Roman people's being, that lies at stake, concerning your wives and children, concerning your temples and religious places, concerning the houses and mansions of the whole city, concerning empire and liberty, concerning the safety of Italy, and concerning the whole commonwealth ; for ye have a consul who will never hesitate to follow your orders, and is able, as long as he shall live, to defend, and by his own interest maintain, whatsoever you shall decree.

THE END.



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